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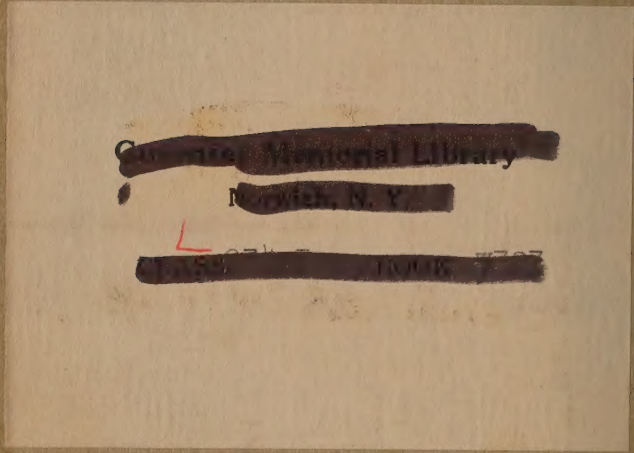
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NEW YORK'S PART IN HISTORY

471

BY

SHERMAN WILLIAMS

AUTHOR OF "SOME SUCCESSFUL AMERICANS,"
AND "STORIES FROM EARLY NEW
YORK HISTORY"

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ILLUSTRATED

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TO

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AND THE

LOCAL HISTORICAL AND PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

THAT ARE DEVOTED TO MAKING THE HISTORY OF
OUR STATE BETTER AND MORE WIDELY KNOWN

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A WORD OF EXPLANATION

Every school boy knows the history of the Battle of Bunker Hill by heart. He has had it in story, and song, and picture till it has become a reality to him. He sees the British form in line and, in brilliant uniforms and with glistening bayonets, march up the hill in perfect alignment, only to be received by that withering fire that drove the survivors in confusion to the foot again. He sees them re-form and again march up the slope to be again received by that withering fire and driven back. After some hesitation and delay he sees them form once more and, after casting aside all that would encumber their progress, with that magnificent courage that we all so admire, march for a third time against the patriots, not again to receive that wasting discharge of musketry, for the Americans have exhausted their ammunition, and, after firing a few scattering shots, they retire slowly and sullenly, contesting the ground with clubbed muskets or whatever comes to hand, but in the end driven from the field. All this the children have been trained to see as really happening, but the Battle of Bunker Hill was not followed by any momentous consequences. It did not change history. Everything went on as though it had not occurred. The patriot forces still invested Boston, and in the end drove the British out. This would have happened if the Battle of Bunker Hill had never been fought or if it had been fought and the patriots had retreated at the first fire. It is not claimed that the Battle of Bunker Hill was of no consequence. That would be far from being true. It did much to hearten the patriots. It showed them that it was possible for them to withstand British regulars, but the battle was not one of momentous consequence. Had it been fought in the state

of New York it would not have occupied the prominent place in history that it has done.

The year after the Battle of Bunker Hill there was fought in the state of New York a battle that was followed with momentous consequences. It was the most bitterly contested and the bloodiest battle of the Revolution, more than one-third of all those engaged being either killed or wounded. It was the turning point of the Revolution, yet its story has not been generally told, and many fairly intelligent men have never heard of it. Many of our school histories do not even mention it, and most of those that do, treat it with scant courtesy. I allude to the Battle of Oriskany, the battle that settled the fate of Burgoyne. All military critics agree that Saratoga was one of the fifteen decisive battles of all history up to that time, and Saratoga was practically won at Oriskany.

If one goes to Boston and passes through King Street, the scene of the so-called Boston Massacre, he will see erected a tablet stating that there was spilled the first blood in the struggle for liberty, and this in face of the fact that a similar occurrence took place in New York some months earlier, the affair being known as the Battle of Golden Hill, though the one was not a battle nor the other a massacre, both being street quarrels between the patriots and the British soldiers in which several people were killed. The two occurrences were similar in all material respects, and the one in New York has the precedence in point of time, though it has cut little figure in history, while the so-called Boston Massacre is about as well and as generally known as the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Everyone who knows anything of American history knows the story of the Boston Tea Party, but how many know that there was a Tea Party at New York, one, it is true, lacking the spectacular features of the Boston affair, but not a whit inferior in the matter of the enforcement of a principle.

The stand that the people of Massachusetts made for the maintenance of political principles is known to all men, but how many know of the trial of John Peter Zenger in the city

of New York which resulted in the establishment of the freedom of the press, without doubt the most important and far-reaching single political event in all our history?

We all know of the famous meetings of Sam Adams and his friends in Boston and what they stood for, but how many know of the following resolutions passed by the New York Assembly in the first decade of the eighteenth century? "Resolved, that it is and always has been the unquestionable right of every man in this colony that he hath a perfect and entire property in his goods and estates."

"Resolved, that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects in this colony under any pretense or color whatsoever, without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property."

This was half a century earlier than the Boston speech of James Otis, or the Richmond oration of Patrick Henry.

A volume might be filled with such comparisons. There is no desire on the part of the writer to disparage Massachusetts. She has a noble history of which her sons and daughters are justly proud, but New York has a nobler history of which her sons and daughters are not as proud as they should be. They are lacking in due pride because they do not know the history of their state. Very few of the writers of history have been born or educated in New York. Our history has too long been obscured and overshadowed by that of New England, especially that of Massachusetts.

The writer of this volume will make no attempt to tell the whole, or even any large part, of the history of New York. An attempt to do that would make a work so voluminous as to defeat the purpose in mind, that of making the general reader acquainted with a few of the important events of our history. If the author of this volume can contribute his mite toward arousing a greater interest in the proud history of our state he will have accomplished his purpose.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Indians of New York	1
II.	Sir William Johnson and the Iroquois Confederacy	39
III.	The Struggle for Supremacy	58
IV.	New York Under the Dutch	102
V.	The Manor of Rensselaerswyck	136
VI.	New York as an English Colony	147
VII.	Albany as a Colonial Center	188
VIII.	Indian Trails	209
IX.	New York in the Revolution	216
X.	New York in the Border Wars	219
XI.	Burgoyne's Invasion	241
XII.	Sullivan's Expedition	273
XIII.	Alexander Hamilton and the Federal Constitution	283
XIV.	Robert R. Livingston and the Louisiana Purchase	299
XV.	William H. Seward and the Purchase of Alaska	314
XVI.	The Erie Canal and the Commercial Supremacy of the State of New York	327
XVII.	Andrew Sloan Draper and the Public School System of the State of New York	337
	Index	377

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Champlain's Drawing Illustrating the Defeat of the Iroquis . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Sir William Johnson 40
Fort Johnson, Near Amsterdam, N. Y. 42
Embarkation of Abercrombie 94
View of Old New Amsterdam 112
Tomb of Stuyvesant 132
Ticonderoga from Mt. Independence 244
Oriskany Monument 256
Philip Schuyler 266
Schuylerville Monument 270
Alexander Hamilton 284
Robert R. Livingston 300
William H. Seward 314
DeWitt Clinton 330
Andrew Sloan Draper 338
Education Building, Albany 362

Maps

PAGE

Map of Territorial Divisions Claimed or Occupied by the Six Nations 6
Lakes, River Courses and Places of Historical Importance . 61
Map of Part of Canada and the Middle States 189
Map of New York State Showing Principal Lakes, Rivers, n Villages, and Some Early Villages and Forts 221
York, Vermont and Western Massachusetts . 249
The United States, 1800 307
Map of Alberta 323
em of New York State 335

NEW YORK'S PART IN HISTORY

I

THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK

Two Great Groups.—We know absolutely nothing as to who were the first inhabitants of our state. We do not even know the origin of the Indians whom we found here. We can trace back their history positively for only a short time. In short and rapid steps we go back from certainty to probability, from probability to possibility, and from possibility to complete ignorance.

There seems to have been a time when all the vast territory from the southern shore of Hudson's Bay on the north to Tennessee and the Carolinas on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, was exclusively occupied by a great number of kindred tribes whom we know as the [illegible]ins. When this country was first settled by the [illegible]s with some of these Algonquin tribes that they [illegible] contact. It was an Algonquin tribe that cap[illegible]nith. It was with another Algonquin tribe that W[illegible] made his famous treaty. The Dutch at New Y[illegible] rounded by Algonquins. The Pilgrims and the P[illegible]d only Algonquins in the territory that they s[illegible] as with Algonquin tribes that Champlain first came in contact.

[illegible]s was an Algonquin. So were Massasoit, Sam[illegible]anto. The great leaders of the Indian wars—[illegible] Tecumseh and Pontiac—were all Algonquins.

[illegible] the Iroquois.—But long before the coming of [illegible] the vast country that had once been occupied

exclusively by the Algonquins had been entered by another aboriginal people whom we know as the Iroquois. They probably had their origin in the far northwest, and very likely were an offshoot of the great Sioux or Dacotah nation, though they may possibly have had their origin in one of the nomadic fish-eating races that occupied some of the valleys leading into Puget Sound. They seem to have begun an eastern movement very early, possibly as early as the tenth century. This eastern movement was probably a very slow one, and interrupted by settlements more or less prolonged, at various times and places. It is probable that they remained in the valley of the Mississippi for a considerable period of time, and that while there they acquired the art of agriculture.

Dispersion of the Iroquois People.—While the Iroquois were in the Mississippi Valley, a portion of them seem to have moved toward the southeast and occupied the country of northeastern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and the western part of the Carolinas. We know this portion of the Iroquois stock as the Cherokees. Two smaller groups, known as the Tuscaroras and the Nottaways, went over toward the coast of North Carolina and Virginia. Later the Tuscaroras came north and settled in New York and became a part of the Six Nations. The remainder of the Iroquois seem to have held together till they reached the vicinity of Niagara. From this time on for a considerable period we know almost nothing of the movements or the subdivisions of this people. How long they remained in the vicinity of Niagara is little more than a guess. A portion of them whom we have known as the Eries, or the Cat Nation, occupied the territory south of Lake Erie till they were destroyed by the Senecas in 1655. There was another Iroquois nation to the north of the same lake, known as the Neutral Nation, which also remained in that section till overthrown by the Iroquois Confederacy in 1650. To the north of the Neutral Nation was another Iroquois tribe known as the Tobacco Nation because [illegible] that plant, not only for their own use but for t[illegible] trade with other Indian nations. They occupie[illegible]

between the Neutral Nation and the Hurons till they were dispersed by the Iroquois Confederacy about 1652, when they moved to the west. North of the Tobacco Nation, in the section between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, were the Hurons—a very numerous people of the Iroquois stock. They, too, were overthrown by their kinsmen, the Five Nations.

When the Iroquois at and near Niagara began to break up, one portion of them passed over into the valley of the Susquehanna and have since been known as the Susquehannocks, or Andastes, or Conestogas, all these names being applied to the same people. Another portion seems to have settled in the lake region, and became the tribes we know as the Senecas and the Cayugas.

Those whom we now know as the Hurons, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks appear to have passed into Canada, along the north shore of Lake Ontario, and into the valley of the St. Lawrence. Possibly they were one people at first and later became divided into separate tribes. If so, it is probable that the Hurons were the parent stock. There is some reason to believe that this was the case. Those whom we now know as the Mohawks seem to have gone farthest east.

This, then, was the situation when the country was discovered by white men. Several groups of the Iroquois stock through the vast territory occupied by the t was, so to speak, a number of small Iroquois in a vast Algonquin sea.

unts of the aborigines the terms "tribe" and used somewhat indiscriminately. Subdivisions often spoken of as separate tribes, and have s. This causes more or less confusion.

the Mohawks made Quebec their chief town. were the people whom Cartier found there. At r Huron kindred were probably at Montreal. the Mohawks drove them out and made Monpital. At this time the Mohawks were at the r power and seem to have held all the country

from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the headwaters of the Mohawk. Vermont and the Adirondacks were their hunting grounds.

About 1550 the Mohawks became involved in a war with their kinsmen, the Hurons. The latter were supported by all the Algonquin tribes in that part of the country. At this time the Mohawks were largely an agricultural people, and were widely scattered and therefore at a great disadvantage. A failure of crops for several successive seasons added the horrors of famine to the misfortunes of war, and in the end the remnant of the Mohawks was driven out of the valley of the St. Lawrence, and withdrew to the hill country south of the Mohawk River, with the center of their territory not far from where the Schoharie Creek empties into the Mohawk. Here they continued to make their home till after the close of the Revolution.

The Onondagas and the Oneidas seem to have reëntered New York from Canada at an earlier period than did the Mohawks. They occupied a territory south of Oswego in the central part of the state, the Oneidas farthest to the east. To the west of the Onondagas were the Cayugas, and to the west of them the Senecas. These four nations, being a kindred people, as well as neighbors, were naturally more or less bound together, not only through the ties of kinship, which may not have amounted to much with savages, but through numerous meetings, councils and alliances, though it is likely that at the outset all alliances were temporary. In the course of time there seems to have been a formal and permanent alliance formed between these four nations. This may have taken place as early as 1450. When the Mohawks entered the state, weakened by long and disastrous wars, they naturally sought an alliance with their kinsmen already in the state, for the purpose of protection from their victorious enemies. It is probable that the union of these five nations, known as the League of the Iroquois, took place about 1540.

There are numerous accounts, more or less probable, regarding the division of the Iroquois into separate nations.

Some account of this has already been given and but little needs to be added. The Cayugas are believed to be an offshoot of the Senecas. These people are said to have lived a long time on the Seneca River as one tribe. Tradition says that a portion of them formed a settlement on the east bank of Cayuga Lake, and that the settlement grew into an independent people now known as the Cayugas. It is said that another portion of the original tribe settled at the head of Canandaigua Lake, and that out of this settlement came the Seneca nation. All the Iroquois have a tradition that they once lived in the far west.

Algonquin Tribes.—Among the more important and better known Algonquin tribes were the Powhatans of Virginia; the Delawares and the Minisinks on the Susquehanna; the Mohicans, Pequots, Narragansetts, Wampanoags, Pennecooks, and Abenakis of New England; the Adirondacks and the Montagnais of the lower St. Lawrence Valley; the Esopus and Mohegans of the valley of the Hudson; the Blackfeet, Cheyennes and the Crees of the Hudson Bay territory; the Menominies, Kickapoos, Sacs, Foxes, Miamis, Illini, and the Shawnees occupying the territory between the Ohio River and the upper Mississippi; the Pottawatamies, Ojibwas, and Ottawas of the upper Mississippi and the Lake region. These are only a few of the many tribes that made up the great Algonquin family. Of these the tribe known to the English as the Delawares, to the French as the Loups, and calling themselves the Lenni Lenapes, boasted of being the oldest of the Algonquin tribes, and the parent of all the other Algonquin nations. This claim was allowed by the other Algonquins. The Adirondacks, the tribe with whom the Mohawks came in contact in the valley of the St. Lawrence, was one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Algonquin people.

The League of the Iroquois.—The idea of forming a league of the Iroquois nations seems to have originated with the Onondagas. It is claimed that an effort was made to bring together in this league all the people belonging to the

Iroquois stock, but only the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas responded, hence the name "The Five Nations." The Susquehannocks of the Susquehanna Valley, the Eries and the Neutrals on either shore of Lake Erie, the Tobacco Nation and the Hurons of Canada, and the Cherokees, Tuscaroras and Nottaways of the south, did not join the league, though at a later date the Tuscaroras came north, settled just to the south of the Oneidas and joined the Five Nations after which the confederacy was called "The Six Nations."

It was, perhaps, the refusal of their kindred to enter the league that caused the Five Nations to have such a bitter hatred toward them, a hatred that cost those who declined the union most dearly, as will hereafter be shown. The members of the league knew no neutrals. They counted every tribe and nation as either being for them or against them. Those professing neutrality were counted as foes. Their hatred of the Algonquins, and especially their hatred of the

Adirondacks, was probably due to their long-time warfare with them. Fiske says: "No enmity ever known to history was more deadly than that between Algonquin and Iroquois."

The avowed purpose of the league was to do away with war between its members, provide for common defense against their foes, and eventually to do away with war altogether. Had it not been for the coming of the whites it is possible that the league would have done away with war by annihilating all their enemies. They had already gone a long way toward accomplishing it.

All traditions agree that the league was formed at a meeting held on the northern shore of Onondaga Lake. Its annual meetings were held there in the fall but special meetings might be held at any time, and at any place, when properly called. At the origin of the league fifty sachemships were created. The meeting of the sachems was known as the council. All the affairs which concerned the league as a whole were regulated by this council. It had legislative, judicial, and executive powers. It declared war, made peace, received ambassadors, entered into alliances, received new members into the league, regulated the affairs of subjugated nations, and in general attended to all matters of common interest.

Each nation was wholly independent in regard to all its local affairs. Its sachems looked after its welfare as did the council after that of the league. Within each nation each village was practically an independent republic regulating its own affairs.

The office of sachem was hereditary, but owing to the fact that the line of descent was through the women and that children inherited through the mother only, and the further fact that the father and mother could not be members of the same clan, no son of a sachem could inherit his father's office. It generally went to the nearest of kin within the clan; it might be to a brother or to the son of a sister. Upon the death of a sachem his successor did not assume the duties of his office until he had been "raised up" with appropriate ceremonies by the sachems at a meeting of the council. Next to the

sachems in rank and influence were the chiefs. Their office was not hereditary, but was given as a reward of merit, usually for oratorical skill or bravery in war. The number of sachems was fixed. This was not the case with the chiefs, and they greatly outnumbered the sachems. Anyone whose acts had merited that distinction might be made a chief. The chiefs were exceedingly limited in power originally but they gained until in some respects they equaled the sachems.

While the affairs of the league were controlled by the sachems assembled in council, the influence of the chiefs, the warriors, and even the women would often make itself felt. The sachemships were not equally divided among the nations. The Senecas had eight, the Mohawks and the Oneidas nine each, the Cayugas ten, the Onondagas fourteen. This would seem to be an unfair division as the Senecas, who had the smallest number of sachems, were by far the most numerous people. But the number was of no account in the council as no affirmative action could be taken except by the unanimous consent of all the sachems present.

Both the sachems and the chiefs were civil officers. If a sachem wished to go to war he must, for the time being, lay aside his civil office. There was no distinct class of war-chiefs, nor does it appear that either sachems or chiefs had the power to appoint such. All military operations were left to private enterprise and service was purely voluntary.

War parties were organized by individual leaders and, if several parties united in the same enterprise, each party remained under its own leader. No one person had absolute command of the whole force. The general direction of affairs fell to the one with the strongest will or the most persuasive personality. As the Iroquois considered themselves as always at war with all nations not in alliance with them, it was lawful for any warrior to organize a war party at any time. If some chief with an ambition to make a name for himself decided to lead an expedition against some of the enemies of his nation, he would have a war dance and call for volunteers.

A considerable part of the Iroquois war movements were merely personal adventures.

The league was planned to bind together all its members in the ties of kinship. Each nation was divided into clans. There were two groups of clans known as phratries. The groups were: (1) The Wolf, the Bear, the Beaver, and the Turtle; (2) The Deer, the Snipe, the Heron, and the Hawk.

The nations did not all have the same number of clans, and the number was not the same in any one nation at all times in its history. At first it is probable that each nation had three and at no time did any nation have more than five. Each of the eight clans was represented in several nations. No marriage could take place between members of the same clan, even though belonging to different nations. At one time it was unlawful for one to marry a member of his own clan or a member of the same group of clans to which he belonged. A member of a clan regarded all the other members of his clan as brothers, even though they were of another nation. The rule in regard to marriages bound the league closely by the ties of kinship, as it was very common for husband and wife to belong to different nations as well as clans.

In form, the league was a federal oligarchy but in effect it was very democratic as the sachems quickly responded to all popular demands. The affairs of the council were conducted in a public manner. Chiefs and warriors were often present at its meetings. There was no heat at the meetings of the council. No speaker was ever interrupted. Each presented his own arguments only after he had carefully reviewed those of all previous speakers, in order to show that he fully understood what had been said. This practice sometimes made the meetings of the council tediously long.

While the office of sachem was hereditary it did not necessarily go to the nearest male relative who was eligible. An unfit man would be passed over. A choice to which the tribe was opposed was never made. The very nature of the league made it necessary for oratory to play a very important part in its affairs. It was held in high repute and the Iroquois

produced orators, statesmen and diplomats of no mean order. They were the only aboriginal people on this continent who did produce orators of note. Among the more noted Iroquois orators were Logan, a Cayuga; Red Jacket and Cornplanter, Senecas; and Garangula, an Onondaga. There were others only a little less famous. With the Iroquois, oratory and arms were the only roads to distinction. The council, the warpath and the chase made up the life of the Indians. The ablest orators and the most skillful warriors came from the ranks of the chiefs. Hardly one of note came from the body of sachems. This is not surprising when we remember that the sachems came to their office by inheritance while the chiefs won theirs through merit and were selected from the best talent of the nation.

The summoning of a special meeting of the council was brought about in some such manner as follows: If an envoy from a foreign nation wished to present a communication to the council he would appear before one of the nations, the Senecas, for example, and present his request. The Seneca sachems would meet and hear his report. If they judged it to be a matter of sufficient importance to warrant the calling together of the council they would send a runner to their nearest neighbors, the Cayugas, with a belt giving notice that a meeting of the council would be held at a given time, at a named place, for the purpose of considering a particular question. The Cayugas would communicate this information to their nearest neighbors, and, in like manner, the news would be sent from nation to nation, and in an almost incredibly short time would reach every part of the confederacy. If the matter were regarded as one of great moment it would stir all the people from the Hudson to Niagara; from the St. Lawrence to the Susquehanna. The hunting grounds would be deserted. Sachems, chiefs, warriors, women and even children would hasten to the place of meeting. All their ordinary pursuits were abandoned.

In a matter of great importance there would be councils of the chiefs, of the warriors, of the old men, and possibly of

the women. Each of these gatherings discussed the matter in all its bearings so far as their interests went. One of their number was selected to present their conclusions to the sachems.

When the sachems were all present the ambassador from the foreign nation appeared before them and presented his message with all the eloquence and skill at his command. He then withdrew and awaited their action. There was no haste. The council would probably adjourn for a day in order to think the matter over. All of its proceedings were conducted with great deliberation. The sachems were distinguished for the decorum, order and solemnity of their proceedings. There was no such thing as action by a majority. All decisions were the result of unanimous vote. A single adverse vote would defeat any proposition. The sachems met in groups and discussed matters. Each group chose one of its members to report its conclusions to the council. Those chosen to present the conclusions of the various groups met and held further discussions. One of their number was chosen to present to the council the outcome of the deliberations of the various groups, and present the proposed action in case there had been an agreement. The council, as a whole, then took action.

All the great matters of the league were settled in this manner. Because of the rule requiring unanimous action the league took no part in the Revolution, as some of the Oneida sachems were opposed to it. As a result each nation acted by itself. In one or two cases nations were divided. This was the beginning of the end of the league.

The Iroquois had an exalted spirit of liberty. Any idea of dependence was intolerable to them. No personal slavery existed. Their captives were either killed or adopted. Conquered tribes were either incorporated into their nation or made dependent and vassal nations. The latter were often treated with extreme severity. Sometimes representatives of vassal nations were made to speak while sitting, this being regarded as a badge of inferiority. War was the favorite

pursuit of the men, agriculture and the drudgery of domestic life being left to the women. The Indians universally believed in witchcraft.

Iroquois. Supremacy.—After the formation of the league the Iroquois grew rapidly in power and influence. They developed a thirst for conquest and military glory. They began a war for supremacy. They first visited their vengeance upon their old-time foes, the Adirondacks, whom they almost exterminated. The survivors were driven into the lower St. Lawrence Valley, but, even here, they were not safe. Some of them sought refuge on the Isle of Orleans, almost under the guns of Quebec, and were attacked even there. Iroquois war parties roamed over the whole country from New England to the Mississippi; from the northern shores of the Great Lakes to Tennessee and the Carolinas. In the long and bloody wars between the Iroquois and their foes the former had the advantage of a better organization and possibly were braver, but their great and inestimable advantage of position alone would have brought them victory. They were situated on the high ground where nearly all the rivers of the state take their rise, and it was but a short carry from the headwaters of one river system to those of another; hence they could quickly concentrate their whole force at any given point, and so overcome their enemies, one by one, by sheer weight of numbers.

The Mohawk with all its branches led to the Hudson, and thence to the sea. The Iroquois could go up the Schoharie Creek and from its source by means of short carries reach the headwaters of the Susquehanna or the Delaware, and so reach any part of the country watered by those two great river systems. Through Lakes George and Champlain they could reach Canada. By the way of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and Oswego River, they could reach Lake Ontario and by skirting its shores, or ascending the streams that flow into it, they had access to a vast territory. They could go up the Genesee River, cross to the headwaters of the Allegheny and down that river to the Ohio, and along it and

its branches reach another great extent of country. They could reach most of the country east of the Mississippi and north of Tennessee and the Carolinas, by water, with only short and easy carries. These great physical advantages enabled the Iroquois to take their enemies by surprise, as well as to concentrate their forces so as to greatly outnumber them in every conflict.

When Champlain fought the Mohawks at Ticonderoga the league was made up of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. The last named were the most numerous and the first the most warlike. The following were the leading tribes with whom the Iroquois were at war: to the north, the Adirondacks, the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation and the Neutrals; to the east, the Minsi and the New England Indians; to the south, the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Susquehannocks and the Nanticokes; to the west, the Eries, the Miamis, the Ottawas, and the Illini.

Some general idea of the location of the more important Indian tribes of New York and vicinity, with whom the Iroquois came in contact, should be in the reader's mind.

The territory of the Pequots included all of Connecticut and Long Island, and extended from Narragansett Bay to the Hudson River. There were many small tribes on Long Island known by the general name of the Long Island Indians. They were also known as the Meilowacks or Meitowacks. There were several small tribes on Staten Island commonly called the Staten Island Indians. Below Albany on the east side of the Hudson were the Mohegans and a number of smaller tribes. On the west side of the river were the Esopus Indians, the Catskills, the Nyacks, the Haverstraws, the Tappans and other tribes. Those in the Hudson Valley below Albany were often spoken of collectively as the River Indians. The Dutch called them the Mohicanders. The French applied the name Abenequis to all the New England Indians.

All the territory from the head of the Chesapeake Bay to

the Kittatinney Mountains, as far east as New England, and as far north and west as the territory of the Iroquois, was occupied by a people whom the English called the Delawares, but who called themselves the Lenni Lenapes. The French called them the Loups. All the remainder of the state was occupied by the "Romans of the West," known to the English as the "Five Nations," to the French as the "Iroquois," to the Dutch as the "Maquas," and to the southern Indians as the "Massawomacs." They proudly called themselves "Ongwe-honwe," meaning "men surpassing all others." They were also known as the "Mingoes," or "The United People."

The Mohawks had four towns and one small village. Their oldest settlement is supposed to have been on the south bank of the Mohawk, a little to the east of Utica. Their most eastern town was at the junction of the Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk. All their other towns were farther west and on the south side of the river.

The Oneidas had their principal village on the south shore of Oneida Lake. The chief settlement of the Onondagas was near Onondaga Lake. The most important town of the Cayugas was on the shores of the lake to which they have given their name. The great town of the Senecas was on the Genesee River, about twenty miles south of Irondequoit Bay.

As has already been stated the Five Nations regarded all who were not members of the league as their enemies, and, war being the chief business of their lives, they sought to exterminate their foes. Father Hennepin, who visited the Five Nations in 1678, said of them: "The Iroquois, whom the Swedes, then the Dutch, and the English and the French, have furnished with firearms, are reckoned at present the most warlike of all the savages yet known. They have slain the best warriors among the Hurons and forced the rest of the nation to join with them to make war together against all their enemies situated five or six hundred leagues distant from their five cantons. They have already destroyed above two million men."

Martin D. Valires, one of the first of the Order of St. Francis to visit North America, said: "The Iroquois are a barbarous and insolent nation that has shed the blood of more than two millions of souls, and are now actually at war with the inhabitants of Canada." The estimate of these writers as to the number slain by the Iroquois is most absurd. It is doubtful if there were two million Indians in all North America at that time, but, notwithstanding their great overstatement of the facts, they furnish good evidence of the fear which the Iroquois had inspired and the devastation which they had wrought.

From 1625 to 1700 the Iroquois waged constant warfare and, at the close of that period, they had annihilated, or subdued and held in subjection, all the powerful Indian nations within what is now the territory of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania and a large part of Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, as well as a portion of New England. They dominated all this vast territory, controlled the action of its inhabitants and settled their quarrels. The Iroquois reached their greatest power about 1700. They often established settlements of their own among their subject nations in order that they might more perfectly direct their affairs. Some of these nations, notably the Delawares, whom they called women, were not allowed to go to war or to exercise any civil power.

It will be of interest to trace briefly the course of the Iroquois in their work of subjugating or exterminating their enemies. In 1628 the Mohegans, who occupied the east bank of the Hudson below Albany, were driven out of their territory and over into the valley of the Connecticut, so thoroughly cowed that the sight of a single Mohawk footprint would cause them to flee in terror crying, "A Mohawk! A Mohawk!"

The Hurons lived in the country between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay. They were nearly as numerous as the Iroquois, and, taken together with the Neutrals, greatly outnumbered them, but they lacked organization and leadership

and therefore were disastrously beaten. According to the Jesuits the Hurons had thirty-two villages, four hundred dwellings and twenty thousand inhabitants. In 1648 the Iroquois invaded their country. They destroyed St. Joseph, the principal Huron town, and another village, killing large numbers and taking seven hundred prisoners. Eight months later they destroyed St. Louis and St. Ignace and defeated the Hurons in a desperate battle near Quebec. The Huron nation was dispersed. Some sought refuge with the Tobacco Nation, others with the Neutrals. Some went to live with the Eries, others with the Andastes. Still others went as far west as the Ojibways and a few settled on the Isle of Orleans near Quebec. The inhabitants of two of the Huron villages joined the Iroquois. They, and they only, were safe. Those who sought refuge with other nations in due time suffered with those who gave them shelter. In 1656 the Iroquois attacked the Hurons on the Isle of Orleans, killed six and took eighty prisoners.

The Neutral Nation, so called because they took no part in the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois, were attacked by the latter in 1650. The Neutrals were said to number twelve thousand people. In the fall of 1650 the Iroquois captured their chief town, said to contain sixteen hundred warriors. In 1651 the Neutrals were driven from their homes after a fierce fight with the Iroquois. The slaughter of the Neutrals was enormous. The Iroquois took a great number of captives, who were carried into the Iroquois country to be butchered or adopted, according to the whim of their captors. The young women were spared that the Iroquois towns might make good the loss of population in battle. The Neutral Nation was destroyed. Even distant towns were abandoned. In order to escape the fury of the Iroquois great numbers of the Neutrals fled into the forests where they perished from starvation.

The Tobacco Nation which occupied the territory between the Hurons and the Neutrals was attacked in turn. Being driven out of their country they went west, and, after wan-

dering from place to place, finally settled at Michillimackinac. From here many of them went to Detroit and Sandusky and, with remnants of other Indian tribes, became known as the Wyandots.

In 1654 the Iroquois attacked the Eries who were supposed to have about two thousand warriors. Their principal fort was taken after a long and bloody struggle. The loss of life on the part of the Eries was frightful. The Iroquois suffered so severely that they were obliged to remain in the territory of the Eries for two months in order to bury their dead and nurse their wounded. The Eries as a nation ceased to exist. The Iroquois had now become possessed of all of western New York, northern Ohio, and the great triangle bounded by Lakes Erie, Huron and Ontario, as well as the northern bank of the St. Lawrence as far down as the mouth of the Ottawa River. They established towns on the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

About 1670 the Iroquois broke up many of the settlements of the New England Indians. They had destroyed nations and spread devastation far and near. The banks of Lake Superior were lined with Algonquins who had in vain sought safety there from the fury of the Iroquois. Even a distance of a thousand miles was not sufficient. The Iroquois followed them, and, at a place still called Point Iroquois, slaughtered great numbers of them.

Of all the tribes with whom the Iroquois came in contact, the Andastes were the most difficult to subdue. The wars between these two peoples lasted for more than a hundred years. The Andastes were finally overthrown by the Senecas about 1675, and the bloody triumphs of the Iroquois were complete.

In 1680 the Senecas invaded the country of the Illinois and compelled them to abandon their villages and flee. War parties of the Iroquois made inroads into the territory of the Miamis, and even penetrated the peninsula of Michigan. They seemed to be omnipresent. With a few exceptions they had become the conquerors and the masters of all the Indian

tribes east of the Mississippi. The fame of their achievements reached the Indians of the most remote tribes, and everywhere they were a source of terror. The following extract from Street's metrical romance "Frontenac" gives a good idea of the impression they had made:

Oh the Eagle is swift when he sweeps from his height,
With his wing to the wind, and his eye to the light,
Darting on, darting on through his empire of air,
With naught to oppose him—his pathway to share;
But the king of the sky would have drooped on his way
Ere his wing could have measured the Iroquois sway.
The League—the proud summit had clambered at length,
Sought so long by their firm banded wisdom and strength;
Their Long House extended now, spacious and high,
The branches its rafters, its canopy sky,
From Co-ha-te-yah's[1] full oceanward bed,
To where its great bosom Ontario spread.
The fierce Adirondacks had fled from their wrath,
The Hurons been swept from their merciless path;
Around, the Ottawas, like leaves had been strown;
And the lake of the Eries struck silent and lone.
The Lenape, lords once of valley and hill,
Made women, bent low at their conqueror's will;
By the far Mississippi, the Illini shrank
When the trail of the Tortoise[2] was seen on the bank;
On the hills of New England the Pequod turned pale,
When the howl of the Wolf[2] swelled at night on the gale;
And the Cherokee shook in his green smiling bowers,
When the foot of the Bear[2] stamped his carpet of flowers.

The French and the Iroquois.—When the French came to Canada they naturally allied themselves with the Algonquins and the Hurons, the Indians with whom they came directly in contact. It was a necessity of their situation to do this, but in so doing they were almost certain to arouse the antagonism of the Iroquois. Perhaps it was inevitable that they

[1] The Iroquois name for the Hudson River.

[2] Names of clans.

should do so sooner or later, but if so the inevitable was precipitated by Champlain at Ticonderoga in 1609. As the result of the fight at Ticonderoga, for a long period of time there was not a year in which there was not anywhere from one to a dozen war parties of Iroquois who went down Lake Champlain and attacked the French and the Indians in Canada. Once or twice they came near driving the French out of Canada and would have quite succeeded had they known how to attack fortified places successfully.

It is an interesting fact that the Iroquois—who probably never numbered as many as twenty-five thousand, including women and children—because of their better organization, more favorable location, and possibly greater bravery, skill, and endurance, were able to inflict such terrible punishment upon the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Neutrals, the Eries and the Andastes, their kinsmen, and upon the numerous Algonquin tribes, some of which were as numerous as they, and taken altogether outnumbered them many times over. Besides, they inflicted nearly as severe punishment upon the French, as they did upon the savage allies of the latter. The Iroquois have been called "the scourge of God upon the aborigines of the continent."

Champlain's Battle at Ticonderoga.—Champlain made several voyages to America in a subordinate position before he came over in 1608 and founded Quebec. The sole purpose of all the French voyagers to America, before Champlain, had been discovery and trade. This was Champlain's purpose also, but in addition he planned to establish permanent settlements and build up in this western world a great French empire.

His first effort was to establish trade and convert the savages, the latter quite as much, perhaps, for the purpose of bringing them into closer and more harmonious relations with the French, as for the saving of their souls. The Indians gave Champlain vague accounts of a great body of water to the south of Montreal, which was connected with the St. Lawrence River by a navigable stream, and accounts still

more vague of another and much greater body of water to the westward. The hope of discovering a northwest passage to India had not yet passed from the minds of men and Champlain thought that these vague accounts might refer to the Great South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was then called, and that to him might come the honor of making the long-sought-for discovery.

So, when the Hurons and Algonquins sought his aid in an expedition against their long-time enemies, the Iroquois, he gladly accepted their invitation, partly that he might cement still more strongly the friendship between them and the French, and partly that he might have an opportunity to visit the great bodies of water of which they had spoken, one, no doubt, being Lake Champlain and the other probably Lake Ontario.

The expedition set out from Quebec early in 1609. It was composed of three or four hundred Indians and twelve Frenchmen. They went up the St. Lawrence to the Richelieu, or Sorel River, then ascended that stream to the Falls of Chambly. The Indians had not told Champlain of these falls; in fact, they had told him that he could sail his shallop all the way to the great lake. It is not clear why they should have deceived him in regard to this matter. Possibly they feared he would not go with them if he knew he would have to make his way in canoes from that point, a method of travel in which white men had not had much experience.

For some reason, not now known, the greater part of the Indians refused to go farther and turned back at this point, but Champlain, not willing to be balked in his efforts at discovery, went on with two French companions and sixty Indians. He entered the lake that bears his name on or about the fourth of July. What must have been his feelings on that occasion! Before him was a vast sheet of fresh water incomparably larger than any he had ever seen or known of. The great bosom of the lake was dotted with beautiful wooded islands. Not a foot of cleared land was to be seen anywhere. The mountain slopes, the level land and all the islands were

heavily wooded with a magnificent and luxurious growth. Evergreens and deciduous trees were interspersed. On his left were the Green Mountains seen in the distance through a beautiful light blue haze. On his right, near at hand, were the towering Adirondacks. The lake over which he was passing was known as the Lake of the Iroquois. The mountains and the valleys on either side were the favorite hunting grounds of the Mohawks. He was entering the enemy's country.

Champlain and his party paddled up the lake in canoes, making their way slowly at night, and spending their days in the thickets on the shore, that they might not be surprised by some lurking body of the Mohawks who were so often on the waters of this lake. They proceeded in this manner till the evening of the 29th of July when, as they were rounding the promontory at Ticonderoga,[1] they saw a fleet of Iroquois canoes and were greeted with the Mohawk war whoop. This was at about half-past ten o'clock in the evening. The Indians had no taste for naval warfare. The Mohawks landed and threw up a rude barricade. Champlain's party spent the night upon the water, lashing their canoes together that they might not be upset.

The night was spent by the Indians in shouting at each other and exchanging vile epithets. In the morning Champlain's party landed and the Mohawks came out from behind their barricades. Each party was confident of victory, the Mohawks because they outnumbered the other party more than three to one and also because they held the Hurons and Algonquins in the utmost contempt. The latter were confident because Champlain was with them armed with an arquebus, and they had learned what firearms could do.

The fight took place at close range as bows and arrows were not effective at any considerable distance. As the parties approached each other, Champlain went to the front and

[1] There is a difference of opinion as to where this battle took place, some thinking that it was at Crown Point.

advanced to within thirty paces of the Mohawks who were dazed by his appearance. They had neither seen nor heard of a white man. Champlain wore a casque and other pieces of metal armor. He wore a sword and carried an arquebus and an ammunition box. Altogether his appearance was terrifying to the superstitious savages, but the redoubtable Mohawks soon recovered from their fear and surprise and prepared to discharge a flight of arrows. At this moment Champlain discharged his arquebus. He had loaded his piece with four slugs and fired at three Mohawk chiefs who were standing together. Two of them were killed and the third wounded. Both parties of Indians were busy with their bows and arrows. While Champlain was reloading his gun, one of his French companions fired with results similar to those produced when the first shot was fired. The Mohawks fled in terror, casting aside all that would impede their flight. Why should they not have done this? They saw their companions dropping dead and could not comprehend the cause. Their death was associated in some way with the flash of light and the sound like thunder that came from the guns of the Frenchmen, but the Mohawks had never before seen a white man and they knew nothing of firearms. They thought that Champlain was immortal and that he had command of thunder and lightning and that it was useless to contend against him. The Hurons and the Algonquins pursued the fleeing Mohawks, killing some and capturing others though the greater part of them escaped. Never before had the Mohawks suffered such a humiliating defeat.

At this very time Henry Hudson was repairing his little vessel, the *Half Moon,* on the coast of Maine. Early the following September he sailed up the river that bears his name. Soon after the Dutch established a trading post at Albany, which was in the Mohawk country. In the meantime the Mohawks learned that Champlain was not a supernatural being and the cause of their humiliating defeat became known to them. They felt that they had suffered a disgrace that

was almost beyond their powers of endurance, yet they had to bide their time until they had secured firearms and become somewhat skillful in their use.

So the Dutch and the Indians came happily together. The Dutch wanted beaver skins and other peltries, and the Iroquois wanted firearms and ammunition, so the exchange was made upon terms satisfactory to each party.

It was to the French that the Mohawks charged their defeat, their humiliation, their shame and their disgrace. If the shot fired at Ticonderoga by Champlain was not like that of the embattled farmers at Concord "heard round the world," it at least reverberated over a large part of this country for a century and a half and was, perhaps, the most potent factor in making this country English instead of French, as it made the Iroquois, the most powerful Indian confederacy on the continent, the undying enemies of the French.

The preceding pages show the nature and the power of the people to whom the French threw down the gauntlet. In antagonizing them they established a bulwark of safety for the people of New York and New England. The Iroquois were proverbial for having a good memory for injuries done them and for being good haters. No period of waiting was too long, and no journey too great, if at the end of the journey, or at the expiration of the time of waiting, their vengeance could be satisfied. Witness their following their Algonquin foes to the shores of the distant Lake Superior, and their waiting for a third of a century to wipe out the disgrace of Ticonderoga.

Invasion of the Onondaga Country.—In 1615 Champlain was induced to join the Hurons on an expedition against the Onondagas. The party left the Huron country in September. A great fleet of canoes skirted the shores of Lake Simcoe, crossed over to Sturgeon Lake, and down a chain of lakes to the river Trent, and down it to Lake Ontario. They crossed the eastern end of the lake and landed at Stony Point in Jefferson County. They secreted their canoes on the border

of the lake and marched inland, crossing the outlet of Oneida Lake.

A few miles to the south of the lake they reached the fortified town of the Onondagas. It was surrounded by four rows of interlaced palisades, formed of the trunks of trees. The palisades were thirty feet high and had galleries protected by a parapet of wood. Along the palisades were conductors to carry water for the purpose of extinguishing any fires that their enemies might be able to start. A pond washed one side of the palisades and the water was led inside by sluices, so there was always an ample supply.

Champlain found his Huron allies unmanageable. They could not be held to any plan of fighting. He had a tower constructed that was high enough to overlook the palisades of the Onondagas. In this he placed four marksmen and two hundred Hurons pushed it close to the palisades of the enemy. The French marksmen soon drove the Onondagas from their galleries. Champlain had directed the Hurons to start a fire at the foot of the palisades but, instead of doing this, they spent their time shouting at their enemies and discharging harmless flights of arrows. When they finally did start a fire, they placed it on the side opposite the wind and the Onondagas easily extinguished it.

The attack had lasted three hours. Champlain had been wounded twice and a dozen or more of the Hurons had been injured. There had been no result whatever so far as the Onondagas were concerned. The Hurons fell back to their fortified camp and could not be induced to renew the attack. They said they would wait for reinforcements.

Stephen Brulé, the discoverer of Lakes Ontario, Huron and Superior, and the first white man to explore western New York, was with Champlain's party at the outset, but he left the expedition at Lake Simcoe and went to the Andastes in central New York to solicit their assistance. They promised five hundred warriors and it was for them that the Hurons proposed to wait. After five days the Hurons abandoned the siege as the Andastes had failed to appear. A few

days after the Hurons left, the Andastes arrived, but not being strong enough alone to risk an attack they returned without striking a blow. The expedition of Champlain was worse than a failure. It served only to anger the Onondagas, as the Mohawks had been angered at Ticonderoga half a dozen years before.

Champlain, being unable to walk on account of his wounds, was carried in a wicker basket and suffered tortures on his homeward route. When the Hurons reached the shore of Lake Ontario they were greatly delighted to find that their canoes had not been molested. Champlain desired to return to Quebec by the way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, a route that no white man had ever been over. As the Indians refused to provide him with canoes and guides, he was obliged to accompany them home and spend the long and dreary winter in the Huron country. He did not reach Quebec till the following June.

Iroquois Invasions.—The last effort of Champlain had added to the bitterness of the Iroquois, but they were still obliged to bide their time. Small bodies of them were constantly skulking about Canada but it was not until 1642, a third of a century after their defeat at Ticonderoga, that they felt themselves strong enough to make an open and direct attack in force. During all this time they had been nursing their wrath to keep it warm. Now they felt that they were able to wipe out their long-standing disgrace. Possibly there was not a single savage living who took part in the battle of Ticonderoga, but the event had neither been forgotten nor forgiven.

Early in the morning of the 2d of August, 1642, twelve Huron canoes were moving slowly down the St. Lawrence with a party of Hurons and four Frenchmen, one of them being Father Isaac Jogues. When they reached the western end of what is known as Lake St. Peter, where the river is full of islands, they kept near the shore to avoid the current. Suddenly the frightful Iroquois war whoop was heard, shots were fired, and several canoes filled with Iroquois warriors

shot out from the shore. The Hurons were panic-stricken. Those in the rear boats attempted to escape. They leaped ashore, leaving everything behind them, and fled to the forest. The French, and some of the Hurons, made a brave fight for a time but, when they saw another fleet of Iroquois canoes putting out from the opposite shore, they lost heart and turned to flee. Father Jogues ran into the bulrushes and might have escaped but, when he saw his companions in the clutches of the savages, he had not the heart to leave them, so turned back to share their fate. In this encounter three of the Hurons were killed and twenty-two captured. The party of Iroquois numbered about seventy.

The story of Indian tortures does not make pleasant reading, but it will not be amiss to give some account of the experiences of Father Jogues, as the tortures to which he was subjected were common to all Indian warfare, and it is well to know how our ancestors suffered that we might live in comfort and happiness in our time. Then, again, the high character of Father Jogues, whom Parkman declared to be "one of the purest characters of Roman Catholic virtue which this western continent has seen," makes an account of his labors and hardships of unusual interest. He was the first Catholic priest who entered the territory that constitutes the state of New York, or who labored anywhere within its limits.

The Iroquois who captured Father Jogues beat him till he was senseless and, when he revived they gnawed his fingers with their teeth and tore out his finger-nails. They took their prisoners to the Mohawk towns, going through Lakes Champlain and George. On the eighth day of their journey they met a large party of Iroquois on their way to Canada. They, too, gathered on a small island in the southern part of Lake Champlain, where all the prisoners were made to run the gantlet. Father Jogues was the last man in the line and he fell powerless, drenched in his own blood. Being regarded as the most important of the captives, he was made to suffer the worst tortures. His hands were mangled again, and fire was applied to his body. At night, when the prisoners tried

to rest, the young warriors would lacerate their wounds, and pull out their hair and beard.

Father Jogues was the first white man to see Lake George which, most unfittingly, bears the name of an obstinate, stupid, and stolid English king, instead of that of its discoverer. In 1646, when returning to the Mohawks as a missionary, Father Jogues named the lake "Lac St. Sacrement," because of the purity and clearness of its waters coupled with the fact that he reached it on the eve of Corpus Christi. It continued to bear this name until rechristened by Sir William Johnson in 1755, more than a hundred years later.

When the Iroquois and their prisoners reached the head of Lake George they landed at or near the future site of Fort William Henry. From this point they began their weary march to the nearest Mohawk town. They were thirteen days on the way. Each one carried some part of the plunder of the party. Even Father Jogues, in his weakened condition, his body covered with bruises and his hands terribly lacerated, was forced to stagger on under a heavy load.

When the first Mohawk town was reached the prisoners were again forced to run the gantlet, "the narrow road to Paradise," as Father Jogues called it. The French prisoners were frightfully disfigured. Father Jogues's left thumb was cut off with a clam shell that the ragged instrument might inflict more pain than a sharper tool would. At night the children amused themselves by placing live coals on the naked bodies of the prisoners. These tortures were repeated at each Mohawk town. At one of them Father Jogues was hung up by the wrists so that his feet did not touch the ground. One of his French companions was adopted by the Indians, and another was tomahawked. Father Jogues lived in constant expectation of death and he would have welcomed it. He was subjected to many indignities and made to perform menial tasks. As time passed he was allowed more and more liberty and sometimes taken on fishing excursions. On one of these he went to a point on the Hudson about twenty miles below Fort Orange. On its return the party remained

at Fort Orange for some time. While here, the Dutch, who before vainly had tried to ransom him, aided Father Jogues to escape. He was taken to New Amsterdam on a Dutch vessel and soon sailed for France. He returned to Montreal in 1644 and two years later was sent to found a mission among the Mohawks. Here he was foully murdered on the evening of the 18th of October, 1646.

From this time on the Iroquois were almost constantly in Canada. Parties of from a dozen to a hundred or more ranged all over the country, murdering exposed settlers, killing men within gunshot of the forts, following parties for days waiting for a favorable opportunity for an attack, haunting all trails and water routes, till in the words of a writer of the times "a man could not hunt, fish, fell a tree, or till the soil in all Canada without danger of being murdered by some lurking Iroquois." In 1667 Father Vimont wrote: "Where eight years ago one would see a hundred wigwams, one now scarcely sees five or six. A chief who once had eight hundred warriors now has thirty or forty. In place of fleets of three or four hundred canoes, we now see less than one-tenth of that number." It was clear that something must be done to check the incursions of the Iroquois, or the colony must be abandoned.

Courcelle's Invasion.—The French resolved to send an expedition into the Mohawk country. Early in January, 1666, Courcelle set out from Quebec with five hundred men. It was mid-winter when they reached Lake Champlain. The bitter winds swept relentlessly over the exposed surface of the lake and the men suffered greatly. They passed over the frozen surface of Lake George and across the country toward the Mohawk towns. The thirty Algonquins whom they had taken for guides became helplessly drunk at Fort St. Therese and lingered behind. Being without guides, Courcelle took the wrong trail and went by the way of Saratoga Lake. There was a severe storm, then a thaw, followed by very cold weather. They reached Schenectady on the 20th of February, half starved and nearly frozen. Nearly all the Mohawks

and Oneidas were absent on a warpath. A few stragglers were taken and, in a smart skirmish, one French officer and several of his men were killed. At this time three envoys from Albany appeared. They wished to know why the French had invaded the territory of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York. This was the first knowledge the French had that the control of the province had passed from the hands of the Dutch into the possession of the English.

The French were very unpleasantly situated. A heavy rain set in and there was danger that an extended thaw might break up the ice and so cut off their retreat. Their return was a precipitate movement. The Mohawks hovered in their rear and captured a few stragglers, but cold and famine were far more deadly than the Mohawks and cost the lives of sixty men.

The expedition did not result as had been expected, but, however, it was not a complete failure. The Mohawks were greatly affected by it. They had felt that they were so far from the French that they were altogether safe from an attack. That comforting delusion had been completely shattered. There was much talk of peace, and Iroquois deputies were to be seen in Quebec in large numbers, but it is doubtful if they desired to do more than to lull the suspicions of the French.

Tracy's Expedition.—The following October Tracy and Courcelle left Quebec with fifteen hundred men. They were not to repeat Courcelle's mistake of attempting a mid-winter campaign, nor the other mistake of attempting the work with too small a force. It was early in the month when they started for the Mohawk country. Their force was so large that opposition on the Mohawks' part would have been hopeless. The little army went by the way of the lakes. Three hundred boats and canoes trailed through Lake George, the first of many military pageants to be seen on those historic waters. They landed where Fort William Henry was afterward built. Nearly a hundred miles of forest, swamp, streams and mountains, still lay between them

and the Mohawk towns. The march was a most exhausting one. Tracy was seized with the gout and Courcelle had an attack of cramps, and both had to be carried. Provisions were insufficient and both officers and men suffered from a lack of food. An abundant crop of chestnuts somewhat relieved their hunger.

They approached the lower Mohawk town in a storm of wind and rain. The Indians were panic-stricken. Alarmed by the din of a score of drums, and the seemingly endless line of soldiers, they fled to their next town. This in turn was abandoned by them as were their other villages, or castles as they were sometimes called. No attempt was made at defense. The great show of force on the part of the French seemed to have given the Mohawks a sort of stage fright. The French were greatly surprised at the strength of the Indian forts. The Iroquois had learned much from the Dutch in the matter of building defenses. All the forts, all the houses, some of them one hundred and twenty feet long with fires for eight families, a vast quantity of Indian corn, tools, utensils and other appliances for comfort were destroyed in the great conflagration with which the French closed their campaign.

A cross was planted and at its side the royal arms of France were erected. The troops were formed in line and an officer appointed by Tracy proclaimed in a loud voice that he took possession of all the country of the Mohawks in the name of the King. The French had failed to destroy their enemies but they hoped that cold and famine would complete the work that they had begun. The return of Tracy was accompanied with much suffering, as had been the case with the expedition the winter before. The autumnal rains had greatly swollen the streams and their crossing was a difficult matter.

The Mohawks felt almost as much humiliated and disgraced by the invasion of their territory and the destruction of their castles as they had been by their first defeat at Ticonderoga at the hands of the French but now, as then,

they were powerless and must bide their time. Later they took full and bloody revenge.

The invasion of the Mohawk country by the French not only made a deep impression upon the Mohawks but on all the other members of the league as well. They were now really disposed to make peace. Deputies from the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas appeared at Quebec. At first the Mohawks were afraid to go but later they sent deputies also. A peace was made that was not openly and absolutely broken for twenty years. The Jesuits established missions with the Iroquois and acted both as Christian missionaries and political agents.

The Expedition of Denonville.—After about twenty years of peace with the French, the Senecas began to be a source of trouble. Denonville, then Governor of Canada, was convinced that no enduring peace could be made with the Iroquois till the Senecas had been severely punished. Accordingly, in 1687, he fitted out a great expedition against them. He assembled a force of two thousand regulars and militia and six hundred Indians. Never before had Canada seen such a sight—regulars, militia and swarms of savages of many nations.

Before crossing from Canada Denonville captured two small fishing parties of Senecas and took them to the French fort where all but thirteen died in torment at the stake. The survivors were sent to France to serve in the galleys, this being by the express order of the French King. On the 6th of July Denonville landed at Irondequoit Bay. He was joined by French and Indians from the west, bringing his force up to fully three thousand. From Irondequoit Bay, a few miles north of Rochester, Denonville set forth for the principal town of the Senecas. He estimated the population of the four Seneca villages to be from ten to fifteen thousand, doubtless a very great overestimate. Only about five hundred of the Seneca warriors were at home. These sent away their women and children, buried their most valued possessions, burned their town, and prepared to meet the enemy. On the

afternoon of the 12th of July Denonville began his march. Four hundred men were left to guard the canoes and bateaux. Officers, men, and Indians carried their provisions on their backs. They marched for three leagues through open forests of oak and then encamped for the night. In the morning the heat was intense. The men marched waist deep through the rank grass of the open spaces. They passed safely through two narrow defiles where they feared that they might be attacked, but fell into an ambush in passing through a dense thicket of cedar. A fierce fight followed in which the French were demoralized by fright, thrown into confusion, and saved from defeat only by the bravery and courage of their Indian allies, though attacked by a comparatively small force of the Senecas.

Denonville would not advance any farther till he had restored order in his army. This gave the Senecas time to escape. The next day the French marched to the burned Seneca town and for ten days gave themselves up to the work of destruction. They burned three villages, destroyed an immense quantity of corn, and killed many hogs of which the Senecas possessed great numbers. The Indians fled to their kindred in the east.

Denonville withdrew to Irondequoit Bay, then went to Niagara where he built a fort which he left in charge of an officer and one hundred men, and then returned to Montreal. The expedition was far from having been a complete success. "A converted Iroquois had told the governor before his departure that if he overset a wasp's nest, he must crush the wasps or they would sting him. Denonville left the wasps alive."[1]

Denonville had aroused the same intense hatred of the French on the part of the Senecas that Courcelle and Tracy had done on the part of the Mohawks twenty years earlier. The whole confederacy began to plan for revenge. The little fort at Niagara was the first to suffer. The men left there were soon in dire straits. The food left for them was unfit

[1] Parkman.

for use. The fort was so closely watched by the Senecas that no one dared to venture forth to fish, to hunt, or to secure firewood. Scurvy and other diseases soon broke out. "The fort became by turns a prison, a hospital and a charnel house."[1] When, in the early spring, a party of friendly Miamis entered the fort only ten or twelve men were left alive.

The Great Iroquois Invasion.—Denonville abandoned the fort at Niagara. He had a bitter controversy with Governor Dongan of New York, who accused him of invading British territory and capturing British subjects. Dongan insisted that Denonville return the English and Dutch prisoners taken on the Lakes. This Denonville refused to do. Then Dongan appealed to his home government for means to build forts in the Iroquois country. As Denonville grew disposed to yield in some matters Dongan increased his demands, among other things insisting that Denonville return all the Iroquois prisoners he had taken. The controversy between the two governors lasted for a long time. Denonville finally became so anxious for peace that he was willing to accede to almost any terms. On the other hand, Dongan was putting forth every effort to prevent the conclusion of a peace between the French and the Iroquois until Denonville had complied with every demand that had been made upon him. Denonville sent an agent to Albany, but nothing came of this effort. A very stormy correspondence between the two governors followed.

In the meantime matters were in a bad way in Canada. The fur trade had been practically suspended for two years. Crops had been poor. There was widespread sickness and destitution. Iroquois incursions were frequent. All these things were working together for the ruin of Canada. Everywhere above Three Rivers the settlers had abandoned their farms and were living in stockaded forts. The Iroquois roamed through the deserted country burning buildings, capturing and killing stragglers and waylaying convoys. Nu-

[1] Parkman.

merous small war parties caused universal panic. The wasps that Denonville had failed to kill made their stings felt far and wide. After many attempts at negotiation had failed the storm broke.

Early on the morning of the 5th of August, 1689, a violent hailstorm broke over the St. Lawrence just above Montreal. Hidden by the darkness of the storm and unnoticed at the early hour, fifteen hundred Iroquois warriors landed at La Chine, and surrounded the little village. Suddenly the awful war whoop sounded and then began the most frightful massacre in all Canadian history. Houses were burned and men, women and children were butchered. A man who escaped carried the news of the attack to a nearby stockade post and then ran on to Montreal six miles away.

Within three miles of La Chine there were two hundred regulars commanded by an officer by the name of Subercase. As soon as he heard of the attack he started for La Chine with his whole force. On his way he was joined by about one hundred armed citizens. He learned that the Iroquois were encamped just back of a piece of woods about a mile and a half away. He immediately started to attack them. Had he been allowed to carry out his intention he would probably have been successful and ended the invasion then and there, and possibly have broken the power of the confederacy forever, as the Indians had become hopelessly drunk on the brandy found in the traders' stores at La Chine, and were not in condition to offer an effective resistance, but, as Subercase was about to enter the woods, he was ordered back by Vandreuil who had just come from Montreal with the most positive orders from Denonville to act strictly on the defensive.

The next day a detachment of eighty soldiers was butchered in full sight of Fort Roland. Not a man escaped. Montreal was wild with terror. For two long months the Iroquois wandered at will over Canada burning and killing without once meeting any opposition, though the soldiers and the militia together greatly outnumbered them. All Canada

seems to have been paralyzed with fear. At the close of two months, after having, so far as they could do so, destroyed all evidences of civilization throughout Canada, except in fortified places, the Iroquois leisurely left the country, carrying with them ninety prisoners and having killed more than a thousand of the French. On their part they lost only three men, those being drunk when the others retreated and did not become sober till taken by the French. Again the Iroquois had been fully revenged.

A Plan for the Conquest of New York.—In 1689 Frontenac was again sent to Canada to replace the inefficient Denonville. A plan of campaign against the English had been agreed upon before Frontenac left France. All the forces in Canada, aided by two ships of war, were to take possession of the colony of New York. A thousand regulars and six hundred Canadian militia were to pass through Lakes Champlain and George, across to the Hudson River and down it to Albany. At Albany all the river craft were to be taken and the whole force, beyond what was necessary to hold that place, was to float down the Hudson to New York. Two war vessels were to cruise off the mouth of the harbor till signaled to take part in an attack on the city. As there were only four hundred fighting men in New York it was expected that the city would be easily taken.

So great was the confidence in the success of this movement that the details were all worked out. After having captured Albany and New York, all supplies of arms and ammunition were to be withheld from the Iroquois and, when they had used all that were in their possession, they would be easily conquered. New England, cut off from the other colonies, could be dealt with at their leisure. All the Catholics found in the colony, who would take an oath of allegiance to the King of France, were to be free from molestation. All the lands, excepting those belonging to Catholics who took an oath of allegiance, were to be confiscated and granted to the French officers and soldiers. Officials of the colony, and other persons of means, were to be thrown into prison and

held for ransom. All property, public and private, was to be seized, a portion given to the French officers and men, the remainder to be sold, and the proceeds given to the King. Mechanics and other workmen might, at the discretion of the commanding officer, be kept as prisoners, put at work on the fortifications or given other work to do. The remainder of the inhabitants—men, women and children—were to be sent out of the country, some to New England, others to Pennsylvania or to other places, so dispersed that they could not combine in any attempt to recover their country and their property. To make matters more secure, the nearest New England settlements were to be destroyed.

It was at least possible that this plan might have been carried to a successful conclusion but for the fact that when Frontenac reached Canada the Iroquois had just left the country after their long and destructive invasion. They had left behind them terror and dejection. At their demand Denonville had caused the destruction of Fort Frontenac. All the people were shut up in fortified places. Farms had been devastated, buildings burned, crops destroyed and domestic animals killed. Frontenac had quite enough to do to restore order and tranquillity, and to look after the Iroquois, without attempting an invasion of New York. The Iroquois had saved the colony a severe contest in which the outcome would have been in doubt.

The success of the great Iroquois invasion made many of the Algonquin tribes waver in their loyalty to the French, and some of them to make overtures to the English through the Five Nations. The Iroquois incursions into Canada continued after the coming of Frontenac. Many of the French were killed and the inhabitants of all Canada were kept in a condition of terror.

It was clear that some effective means must be taken to check the Iroquois if the colony were to prosper or even to endure. Therefore, in the winter of 1693, a party of seven hundred French and Indians set out equipped with snowshoes and all other necessary supplies for a winter campaign.

They reached Schenectady after a march of the severest hardships. It was then the 8th of February. They captured the lower Mohawk castles without difficulty and took three hundred prisoners. They then returned to Canada, being pursued by Major Peter Schuyler and a party of Albany militia. The Mohawks were greatly alarmed and quite disheartened. This was the third time that the French had invaded their territory. Still the Iroquois were not ready for peace, therefore Frontenac determined to strike another and a more severe blow.

In June, 1696, Frontenac assembled at La Chine all the force he could muster—regulars, militia and Indians. They left La Chine on the 4th of July and reached Frontenac on the 28th. From this point they crossed Lake Ontario to Oswego and marched into the Onondaga country. Notwithstanding Frontenac had an overwhelming force, and put forth every possible effort, he only succeeded in destroying the crops of the Indians. The Onondagas burned their village and fled to the forest. They were not even dispirited. They followed Frontenac on his return march and cut off all stragglers. The French suffered more as the result of this expedition than did the Indians, as nearly all the available French settlers were on the expedition, and the growing of crops was neglected. In September, 1697, a treaty of peace between France and England was signed which put an end for the time being to all warlike movements in America.

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II

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY

Anyone who appreciates the part that the Iroquois Confederacy played in the history of our country, and the remarkable influence of Sir William Johnson with that confederacy, will readily see that the history of our country, and especially the history of the Colony of New York, would be very incomplete and imperfect without some account of this strong, forceful, dominating and unusual character.

The Iroquois Confederacy was a buttress of defense that protected not only the New York frontier, but, to a large extent, that of New England and Pennsylvania as well, from the attacks of the French and their Indian allies. Without this buttress our history might very easily have been quite different from what it is. Although the early attacks of Champlain made the Iroquois the natural foes of the French, there were times in which they wavered in their loyalty to the English, and it is more than probable that they would have allied themselves with the French long before the overthrow of French power in this country, had it not been for the influence of Sir William Johnson.

Johnson was a part, and a very important part, of the early history of our state, and we cannot fully understand that history without a careful study of the part that Johnson had in it. He was born in Ireland in 1715, his father being an officer in an English cavalry regiment and his mother a sister of Sir Peter Warren of the Royal Navy. His parents wished him to enter either the army or the navy, but he preferred to study law, which he did. His uncle, Sir Peter Warren, took a great fancy to him and just before his nephew was ready to take his bar examinations offered him the man-

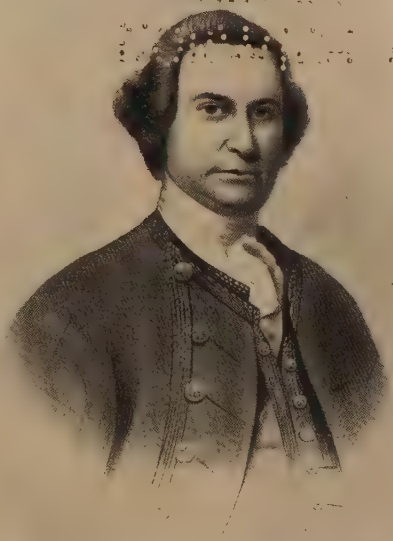
agement of a large tract of land in America, which had come to him as a dowry with his wife, who was the daughter of Stephen DeLancey. The estate was in the eastern angle formed by the junction of the Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk River.

Young Johnson was to manage the estate as though it were his own and was given power to buy, sell or develop. He sailed for America late in the summer of 1737, and spent the winter in New York with his aunt, the wife of Sir Peter Warren, the latter being one of the wealthiest men of the colony. While here he naturally met many of the noted men of the colony and formed acquaintances who were of great value to him in later years.

In the spring of 1738 he went to take charge of his uncle's estate, which was in the heart of the Mohawk country. The only white persons there were a few Germans, mostly Indian traders. Johnson was to clear the land, manufacture to some extent, and trade with the Mohawks. To succeed, he must be on good terms with the Indians and he needed to know their language if he were to operate under the most favorable circumstances. Within two years he was able to speak both the German and the Mohawk languages, and, in a few years, he knew all the Iroquois languages or dialects so that he had no need of an interpreter. This was of great advantage to him.

For the first five years he lived at Warrensbush, a settlement that long ago ceased to exist. For two years he lived in a log hut that was as free to the Indians as to himself. This was always the case with his home, whether in the log hut at Warrensbush, the stone house at Akin, or the Hall at Johnstown. He was always honest in his dealings with the Indians, one of the very few white men who were. At his burial an old sachem said: "Sir William Johnson never deceived us." Because he was always honest in his dealings with the Indians he had the first choice of all the furs they had to sell and the advantage of their friendship which manifested itself in many ways.

Johnson improved his uncle's estate and sold about two-



Sir William Johnson

thirds of it at a large profit, in farms of from one hundred and fifty to three hundred acres each. At the death of his uncle, Johnson inherited all the land that had not been sold. About two years after coming to this country Johnson purchased a tract of several thousand acres of land on the north bank of the Mohawk, extending from the outskirts of the present city of Amsterdam to the village of Akin. At the latter place he built a massive stone house that is still in a good state of preservation, though it has been built about one hundred and seventy-five years. It is now owned by the Montgomery County Historical Association. When the house was built there was not even a highway through the valley; now more than two hundred and fifty trains of cars pass the house each day carrying thousands of passengers and a vast quantity of freight.

Johnson was the first Englishman to settle in the Mohawk Valley west of the vicinity of Schenectady. When he first came to this country, New York City had only about five thousand inhabitants, Albany not more than five hundred and Schenectady was a small hamlet. At Akin, Johnson built a gristmill and a sawmill, the latter having a capacity of fifteen hundred feet of lumber a day. He did much to develop the valley. He brought over some sixty families of Scotch-Irish, gave each family a tract of land, and had comfortable cabins ready for them when they arrived. Later he induced a considerable number of German refugees to settle on his tract.

When the Mohawks made Johnson a chief they gave him a tract of land containing nearly seventy thousand acres. It extended from East Canada Creek to West Canada Creek including the site of the present city of Little Falls and the village of Herkimer. This grant was confirmed by the King and was known as the "Royal Grant."

Johnson imported horses, cattle, sheep, and other domestic animals in order to improve the breed. He encouraged the clearing of the land and the development of the country. He accumulated what was, for that time, very great wealth

and was one of the prominent men of the colony during th quarter of a century preceding the Revolution. He has, no unfitly, been called the father of the colony of New York.

The domestic life of such a man as Johnson is always a matter of interest, especially when, as in his case, the domestic and public life are so intermingled that one throws light upon the other. Soon after going to Akin, Johnson married Catherine Weisenberg, a German girl, by whom he had three children—one son and two daughters. The son was the Sir John Johnson who was so active in the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution. One of the daughters married Sir Guy Johnson, her cousin; the other married Daniel Claus, one of the Palatines and a noted Indian fighter.

Johnson understood the Iroquois as no other white man ever did. He knew their language, their character, their ways of living and thinking, and understood the meaning of their various acts, and manner of doing things almost as well as they did themselves. It was his business to keep the Iroquois loyal to the English, not always an easy task, for often they were neither well nor wisely treated by the colonial government and were commonly cheated by the Indian traders. There were times when the skill and ingenuity of Johnson were taxed to the utmost to pacify the natives. It is pretty certain that he would have failed on more than one occasion but for his intimate relations with the Mohawks. It is reasonably certain that his relations with Molly Brant were largely determined by the influence which that relation would give him with the Iroquois and especially with the Mohawks.

Soon after the death of his wife, Johnson made Caroline, the daughter of Chief Abraham, his housekeeper. At her death seven years later, she was succeeded by Molly Brant, the sister of the noted chief, Joseph Brant. While Johnson never married either of these women, the Mohawks regarded the relation as a lawful one, it being in accordance with their customs, but in his will Johnson speaks of "my beloved wife Catherine," and "my housekeeper Molly Brant." The latter outlived Johnson. They seem to have lived together

FORT JOHNSON, NEAR AMSTERDAM, N. Y.

From a recent photograph

very happily. Johnson always treated her with great respect and insisted that everyone else should do the same. She was a remarkable woman and never appeared to disadvantage in any society.

The Indians felt more at home with Johnson because he had an Indian woman at the head of his household than they could possibly have done otherwise. This added greatly to his influence with the Mohawks, who adopted him and made him a chief of their nation. At this time he lived the life of an Indian, wore their garb, joined in their games, attended their festivals and took part in their orgies.

Johnson acquired a tract of about twenty-six thousand acres of land in the vicinity of the present city of Johnstown. About 1760 he built a home there which was known as Johnson Hall. At the time of its erection it was the largest and the finest mansion west of the Hudson River. The first Masonic Lodge west of Albany was organized at Johnstown and its meetings were held in Johnson Hall, in a back room on the second floor. It was there that Brant was made a Mason. Two blockhouses were erected near the Hall, one of which is still standing.

Johnson was very fond of outdoor life. He held "sports' days" at Johnstown for his tenants. He invited the Indians to the Hall to play their games. He also held an annual fair at which he awarded many prizes.

Johnson as Indian Commissioner.—Johnson saw that the Indians were being cheated on every hand, so, when he was offered a place on the Board of Indian Commissioners, he gladly accepted. The board was made up of five members, one of whom the law required to be a clergyman. Some of the members lived so far from the Indians that they had very little interest in them; others gave very little attention to their duties. Through resignations and new appointments the board soon came to be made up of men who could be relied upon to attend to their duties and see that the Indians were treated fairly. Dishonest traders were dismissed. The sale of liquor to the Indians was forbidden. Missions and

mission schools were established. At one time there were twenty-six men in the jail at Albany serving sentences for the violation of the Indian anti-liquor law.

Johnson managed the Indian affairs so well that the Governor made him sole Indian Commissioner for the colony. Johnson claimed that the Indians were generally honest and said that he had furnished hunting outfits for Indians living in the extreme western part of the state and other remote points, and that they never failed to return and pay for what had been furnished them, as soon as they were able to do so. Johnson favored furnishing the Indians with good guns, which was contrary to the custom that had been followed, saying that without good guns they could not be effective allies.

During the preparation for an invasion of Canada, Johnson advanced large sums of money from his private funds. He also advanced considerable sums at council meetings, custom making that necessary to success in dealing with the savages. At one time he had advanced nearly $50,000, a very large sum of money for those times. This the Assembly was slow to repay and unpleasant remarks were made. This was not because the members of the Assembly were personally opposed to Johnson, but because he was an appointee of a governor to whom they were opposed. When the sums advanced by him were finally repaid he resigned his office.

As soon as the Indians heard of his resignation they called a council of their chiefs and went to Albany to consult with the Governor. At this interview King Hendrick, representing the Mohawks, said:

We have come to consult our brother Corlear (the name the Indians gave to all the governors) in relation to Colonel Johnson. We have just heard that he has resigned. When the war was breaking out, your Excellency recommended him to us and you told us that we might consider anything that he said as being said by yourself. So, as we had no hand in his appointment, we have done nothing to induce his resignation. Judge, therefore, the shock we felt when he

sent us a belt of love and peace with a letter saying that he had resigned and would be our superintendent no more. We cannot express our feelings. He must come back to us. No one can take his place in our hearts. We can never learn to believe the words of anyone as we believed him. You, or if you cannot, then our Great Father, the King, must make him come back to us. We cannot get along without him.

Captain Montour, speaking for the Senecas, said:

Our nation is hard to control. There are many good Senecas and also many bad ones. But all love Colonel Johnson, all believe what he says, and all—good and bad alike—will listen to his words and have faith in his promises. His tongue is not forked. He always speaks with one tongue. In peace, he was like a fertile field that raised corn and pumpkins and beans. In war, he was like a tree that grew for us to bear fruit, but now seems to be falling down, though it has many roots sunk deep in the soil of our affection, our confidence and our esteem. His knowledge of our affairs, our laws, and our language, made us think he was not like other white men, but an Indian like ourselves. Not only that, but in his house is an Indian woman, and his little children are half-breeds as also I am, your Excellency knows—only I am a French half-breed and Colonel Johnson's little children are English half-breeds. We understand that he declines to return to his office. This makes us afraid you will have to appoint someone in his place who does not know us—some person who is a stranger to us and to our affairs. We, therefore, ask you to compel him to resume his office of superintendent or, if you cannot compel him yourself, to send a letter asking our Great Father, the King, to compel him. We know that he will obey the King. Please tell the King, if you write him, that we want Colonel Johnson over us, and no one else. He has keen ears and hears a great deal and what he hears he tells to us truthfully. He also has sharp eyes and sees a long way ahead, and conceals nothing from us.

With the exception of the Iroquois, the English made enemies of all the Indians with whom they came in contact, and it was due to Johnson, whom the Iroquois loved, that they too were not antagonistic. Every effort was made to

induce Johnson to resume the office of Indian Superintendent but without avail. He declared that he would have no relations with "that factious and malignant majority in the Assembly." He finally agreed to accept temporary appointments from time to time to settle special difficulties. No one was ever appointed in his place.

In the fall of 1753, when it had become apparent that the French and English would soon clash, there came alarming rumors of the presence of many French missionaries among the Senecas, and a general discontent among the western Iroquois. The Governor was so disturbed by these reports that he induced Johnson to go into the Seneca country in the early winter, a time of year that made the journey a very severe one. At the principal town of the Senecas Johnson found Captain Joncaire, a French half-breed, who bore much the same relation to the Indians in the interest of the French that Johnson did in the interest of the English. Johnson remained at Kanandaigua for a week and satisfied himself that there was no unrest among the Iroquois except in case of a few of the western Senecas at Niagara. On his return Johnson stopped at the principal Cayuga and Onondaga towns.

In 1755 Johnson was made General Superintendent of Indian Affairs for all British North America. No other Englishman ever attended as many Indian councils as he did, and he was far more influential at these councils than any other man who ever represented the colonies. Dr. Wheelock says: "I have seen at Mount Johnson, and also at Johnson Hall, sixty to eighty Indians at one time, lodging under tents on the lawn and taking their meals from tables made of pine boards spread under the trees. They were delegates from all the Indian tribes."

In 1749 Johnson arranged for and managed a great council at Albany, consisting of the governors of the New England colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and representatives from the Indian tribes friendly to the English. There were present at this council seven colonial

governors with their staffs, the Indian superintendents of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, and thirty Indian chiefs of high rank. Not only were the Iroquois represented but also the Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Wyandots, Adirondacks and the "River Indians." Many of the Indians brought their wives and children. Governor Clinton gave them all new clothes and gaudy ornaments. Never had the Indians received such an ovation. Rarely had Albany witnessed such a sight. The council was very successful and the Indians returned to their homes pronounced allies and friends of the English.

Again in 1754, late in June, there met at Albany delegates from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland to form what may be regarded as the First Colonial Congress. They were to consider plans for acting together in the approaching war. There were delegates present from the Six Nations, the Delawares and the River Indians. A resolution was passed calling upon the King to appoint Governor Shirley of Massachusetts commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. It was agreed that the colonies should raise and maintain a force of twenty-five thousand men. It was also agreed that Virginia and the Carolinas would be regarded as doing their full share if they defended their own frontiers. Three commissioners were appointed to go to England and present the situation to the King and his ministers, and ask that at least twelve thousand regulars be sent to this country, as well as a fleet strong enough to blockade the St. Lawrence and cut off all communication between France and Canada. The Indians agreed to furnish a thousand picked warriors if Johnson were made their commander-in-chief, and to raise six hundred additional warriors to defend Oswego against any attack by the French. The congress adjourned subject to the call of Governor Shirley.

In 1755 General Braddock summoned a council of colonial governors to meet with him at Alexandria, Virginia. All the colonies except South Carolina and Georgia were represented

either by their governors or their lieutenant-governors. Johnson and Franklin were present by special invitation. At this meeting Johnson was appointed General Superintendent of Indian Affairs for all British North America. A plan of campaign was agreed upon. Johnson was to lead a movement against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

On Johnson's return home he summoned a council of the Iroquois and announced his appointment as Indian Commissioner. The Indians were greatly delighted and the news spread like wildfire. Within ten days, more than a thousand Indians had gathered at Mount Johnson, the largest number that had ever met with a white man for the purpose of counseling with him. Johnson was taxed to his utmost to feed this great number of people and had to call upon his well-to-do neighbors for twenty miles around for help. The council was a great success. The Indians promised to raise a thousand warriors who were to be under the command of King Hendrick. An account of this expedition, as well as all the military movements with which Johnson was connected, will appear in connection with the story of the long struggle between France and England for the control of North America.

In 1744 Johnson established a trading post at Oghwaga on the Susquehanna near the present village of Windsor in Broome County. Here he was free from the competition that he would have had to meet on the northern or western frontier, or any point on Lake Ontario, or on the western trail. Oghwaga was on the great southern trail which was made more popular by the establishment of this post. It was a very important post during the border wars. The village of Oghwaga had been in existence for two hundred years before Johnson established his trading post there. At this time it had about one hundred lodges that, in character, were much above the average Indian dwellings. The population was made up of representatives of every Iroquois tribe. The Indians of this village are often spoken of as a distinct tribe, probably because they had lived by themselves so long a time. The name of the village is spelled in many different ways as

is commonly the case with Indian names of places. The reason is clear enough. The Indians had no written language and there were several languages and a great number of dialects. The whites learned the names by sound and then attempted to represent these sounds. With each language, and it might be each dialect, the sound would differ. Then some came to us through the English, others through the Dutch or French, so there could hardly help being a great confusion.

In applying for a license to trade at Oghwaga Johnson said: "I wish to create this trading post not any more for the profits it may bring me than to show by actual example that trade with the Indians can be conducted honestly as well as any other commercial business."

Within a few years Johnson drove out of business a horde of rascals who had been robbing the Indians of the Susquehanna Valley, and the territory tributary to it. Speaking of the treatment of the Indians, Parkman says: "The Five Nations were robbed by land speculators, cheated by traders and feebly supported in their constant wars with the French."

In writing to Governor Clinton in 1744, Johnson said: "You can make a pretty good and generally faithful fellow of an Indian by simply treating him fairly in business and helping him along now and then when his natural indolence, or improvidence, or bad luck, has brought him to straits."

In June, 1748, Governor Clinton appointed Johnson Colonel-in-Chief of the Albany County militia with full power to arrange matters as he chose. His reorganization of military affairs was so effective that no change was made till the Revolution. At that time Albany County included all the colony of New York north and west of the counties of Dutchess and Ulster, and the whole of the present state of Vermont, making a great territory to be protected from the attacks of the French and the Canadian Indians.

A brief review of the conditions existing at that time will make clearer the difficulties with which Johnson had to contend. In 1752 the adult white male population of Canada,

including the troops stationed there, was less than twenty thousand. At the same time the adult white male population of the English colonies was fully two hundred thousand—ten times that of Canada—yet with this great disparity of numbers, it was many years before the English were able to drive the French out of the country even with the aid of many thousand English regulars. There were reasons for this. The English did not get on well with the Indians. They coveted their lands. They established colonies on the land that once belonged to, and was still occupied by, the natives. These settlements were growing more and more numerous. On the other hand, the French did not colonize to any great extent. They simply garrisoned Canada. The French mingled freely with the Indians, were friendly to them, and many of them took Indian wives. These things were not true in the case of the English. Consequently, in all the struggles between the French and the English, the former had the active support of all the Indian tribes, with the exception of the Iroquois, and would in the end have had theirs also but for the influence of Johnson. With the support of the Iroquois the French would have been more likely to have driven the English out of the country than to have been driven out by them. The influence of the French half-breeds was very great. They were more effective in warfare than even the French regulars. They were to be found in every tribe and were scattered throughout the whole country east of the Mississippi and sometimes even farther west, and they were exceedingly loyal to France. The influence of the Jesuits was a tremendous force which, of course, was always exerted in the interest of the French. Against all these influences Johnson had to contend.

There was a controversy between Johnson and Shirley as to the appointment of the former as Indian Commissioner, Shirley claiming to have been the means of his appointment and therefore his superior, but this controversy was ended when, in 1756, the Crown directly appointed Johnson "Agent, Sole Superintendent of the Six Nations and all other Indians

inhabiting British territory north of the Carolinas and the Ohio River.'' He was given a salary of £600 and a like sum for expenses.

When the English lost Oswego the Six Nations sent a large delegation to the Governor of Canada for the purpose of making peace. They claimed that they had agreed to help the English only in case the latter prosecuted the war vigorously, which they had utterly failed to do. The Six Nations had some reason for thinking that the French were to be the victors and that they would be obliged to make peace with them, and that it would be the part of wisdom to make it early when they would probably be able to make better terms. Braddock had been disastrously defeated by a force much smaller than his own. Shirley, Loudon, Winslow and Abercrombie had all failed. The last, with the largest, finest and best equipped army that this continent had ever seen, was not only beaten by a force less than one-third as large as his own, but he abandoned a great stretch of territory to the French which he might easily have held. Then came the affair of the cowardly Webb. So matters went on for two or three years, the ''gloomiest, dreariest years in the history of the British Empire. Corruption and imbecility seemed to have joined hands to mismanage the affairs of the empire.'' Why should not the Six Nations have felt that the future belonged to the French?

After the loss of Oswego the barrier which the Six Nations had interposed was withdrawn. The frontier was exposed to the fury of the Canadian Indians, as the Six Nations were neutral and indifferent. Streams of hostile savages were on every hand and numerous murders were committed. Men were shot down within a stone's throw of Schenectady and small war parties hovered around Mount Johnson hoping to secure Johnson or his scalp.

Johnson never gave up hope though of all the Six Nations only the Mohawks had longer any feeling of loyalty to the English. Sir William summoned the Six Nations to meet him at Fort Johnson on the 10th of June. All the nations except

the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were represented. The great influence of Johnson enabled him to overcome the effect of the stupidity of the English commanders and the machinations of the French, and win back the loyalty of the Confederacy.

These were troublesome times for Johnson but he did not despair. In a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, which Johnson requested the Duke to show to his father, the King, he said: "But, beside all other ill effects of our reverses during these two years past, is the very important consideration that they have weakened our alliance with the Six Nations, almost to the breaking point. The Indian respects nothing so much as power and success and nothing so little as apparent weakness and reverses."

In the fall of 1758, after the turn of the tide in favor of the English, a number of the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga chiefs invited Johnson to meet with them in a grand council at Onondaga Castle, the capital of the Confederacy. This Johnson declined to do but, in turn, invited them to meet with him at Mount Johnson. They accepted his invitation and the bond between them and Johnson was again strengthened.

The surrender of Montreal in September, 1760, closed the French and Indian War. Here, again, the prudence and sagacity of Johnson made themselves felt. He knew that the English would make a great effort to get control of the fur trade of the northwest. He feared that an effort would be made to disturb the relations between the Indians and the French missionaries and that such a movement might arouse the distrust and, possibly, the animosity of the Indians, and that under such circumstances the French priests might use their great influence to foment trouble. Therefore, he urged that the existing relations be disturbed as little as possible and that the daily life of the Indians be allowed to go on as before. This advice was followed with the result that the French soon became loyal and faithful British subjects.

Early in July, 1761, Johnson made an extended visit to

the west, going as far as Detroit. On his way he stopped at the principal villages of the various Indian tribes that had served under him, holding councils and distributing medals. At Detroit he held a series of councils lasting eighteen days, meeting each tribe separately.

For two years there was peace in all quarters, then came the sudden and unexpected outbreak of Pontiac. Johnson, for the first time in all his experience with the Indians, was taken wholly by surprise. His first intimation of trouble was the attack on Detroit—the strongest post west of Niagara. At almost the same moment a strong force made up of Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Delawares and Mingoes invested Fort Pitt. The Ottawas, the Ohio Indians, and some renegade Senecas made several unsuccessful attempts against Niagara. The feebly garrisoned posts of Leboeuf, Venango, Presque Isle, St. Joseph, Maumee, Mackinaw, Sandusky and St. Mary's were all captured and their garrisons butchered. Hardly a man escaped.

Immediately after Pontiac's attack on Detroit, Sir William called a council of the Six Nations at German Flatts. All the nations sent delegates, except the Senecas, who openly espoused the cause of Pontiac. The other nations agreed to remain neutral and to permit the passage of troops through their territory. Had the Six Nations been a unit in the support of Pontiac it is probable that Detroit, Niagara and Oswego would have fallen and not only the whole northwest been lost to the British, but the whole New York frontier would have been ravaged by the Iroquois, as Canada was in 1689. That is what would probably have occurred but for the influence of Johnson.

What is known as the Devil's Hole Massacre occurred on the 14th of September, 1763. A sergeant and twenty-four men had escorted a party to Fort Schlosser just above the Falls and on their return they were attacked by five hundred Senecas and all but three killed. The firing was heard at Lewiston and two companies of Colonel Wilmot's regiment were sent to ascertain what the trouble was. They, too, were

ambushed and all massacred except eight men. Then the whole force was sent to the rescue and found only mangled corpses. The Senecas had regarded the Niagara carry as their privilege and when, after the final defeat of the French, it went into the hands of the English and they derived no revenue from it, they were greatly offended. When Joncaire, under the French, had conducted it, the Senecas shared the profits with him.

A great council was held at Niagara in July, 1764, to settle difficulties growing out of Pontiac's war. More than two thousand warriors were present, including representatives from all the Ohio and western tribes who had taken part in that war. Most of the southern tribes were represented also, as well as the Six Nations. The Senecas did not dare to come till they were assured of fair treatment, as they thought Johnson would not forgive them for their part in the war.

On the 18th of July Johnson concluded a treaty with the Hurons who agreed to deliver up all their prisoners within a month, to abstain from all future hostilities, to regard as enemies all tribes who were hostile to the English, to guard the water route from Lake Erie to Detroit, and to cede to Great Britain the land on both sides of the strait from their village to Lake St. Clair. The Senecas made a similar treaty and ceded a strip of land to the British, extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. This strip was four miles wide on each side of the river.

The last great act of Sir William Johnson was the negotiation of the Fort Stanwix Treaty. The council was held at Fort Stanwix (Rome) in October, 1768. More than three thousand Indians were present representing the Six Nations, the Shawnees, the Delawares, and the Senecas from Ohio. The council opened the 24th of September with the usual ceremonies. The making of the treaty occupied several weeks. Several of the states were represented but the interests of the English were looked after solely by Sir William Johnson. Great preparations had been made for feeding the

Indians and providing them with presents, an absolutely necessary provision for an Indian council. Sixty barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pork, six barrels of rice, and seventy barrels of other provisions were sent to the place of meeting.

The following line of division between the territory of the white men and that of the Indians was agreed upon. The line started from a point on the Allegheny River a few miles above Pittsburgh, and ran in a northeasterly direction to the head of Towanda Creek, down that creek to its junction with the Susquehanna River, up that river to Owego, then across the country in a southeasterly direction to the Delaware River at a point a few miles below Hancock, then up the Delaware to Deposit. From this point the line ran north across the hills to Unadilla, up the Unadilla River to Unadilla Forks, thence northwest to Fort Stanwix. For all this vast territory the Indians were given $50,000. This was a most important treaty and it is quite probable that it wholly changed the history of our country. The Indians had become very restless because of the encroachments of the whites and, but for this treaty, it is almost certain that a general Indian war would have occurred in which case we would have been obliged to call on England for aid in subduing the savages. This certainly would have postponed the Revolution and might have prevented it altogether. The deed granted as the result of the Fort Stanwix Treaty bears the date of November 5, 1768.

During the few years immediately following the treaty, considerable trouble arose due to the fact that the whites did not observe its provisions. All along the line they crossed into the territory sacredly set aside for the sole and exclusive use of the Indians. The latter protested in vain. The government was either powerless to enforce the provisions of the treaty or it did not care to do so. The feeling on the part of the Indians grew so bitter that Johnson called a council to meet at Johnson Hall. On the 7th of July, 1774, nearly six hundred Indians gathered there. Johnson was nearly worn out with long-continued strenuous work. His

old disease, dysentery, from which he had suffered periodically, attacked him in severe form. He had usually obtained relief by going to the seashore but now it was impossible for him to leave. The council opened on the 9th. On the 11th, Johnson spoke for more than two hours with great force and earnestness. The effort was too much for him. He suffered a relapse and died early that evening.

There have been statements to the effect that he committed suicide because he knew that a war between the colonies and the mother country was near at hand, that it would be impossible for him to be neutral and he could not bear to choose between Great Britain that had greatly honored him and his adopted country which he loved. There is no good ground for believing that Johnson took his own life. Such a course would have been wholly inconsistent with his character. That he dreaded the coming conflict is no doubt true. What his course would have been is uncertain. That his influence would have been very great is apparent.

The character of Johnson has been greatly misunderstood. It is a somewhat common idea that he was ignorant and coarse but the facts do not warrant either statement. One needs to remember that ideals of life have changed and that many things that were common in the best society of that time would not be tolerated now. One should be judged by comparison with the men of his time. Johnson had not had the advantage of a thorough training in the schools but, for his time, he was a well-read man and possessed an excellent library of about two thousand volumes, among which were such works as: The Complete Works of Sir Isaac Newton, Chambers' Dictionary, Battles of Alexander the Great, Roderick Random, *The Gentleman's Magazine,* and the *Family Magazine,* History of the Prince Eugene, Experimental Philosophy, Reign of William the Third, History of France, Life of Louis XIII, Life of Queen Anne, Life of Peter the Great, The Prophet Mohammed (in Latin), Translation of the Koran (in Latin), and many others of like character. He had a standing order with a London bookseller for "all

new books on history, philosophy and the lives of men worth reading about."

Though a member of the Church of England Johnson was both liberal and generous toward other denominations, as is witnessed by his building several chapels for his Lutheran neighbors.

Johnson was a man of wonderful adaptability, strict integrity, and untiring industry. He was a wise and prudent counselor, both courageous and cautious, and these qualities were exercised more for the good of his country than for his own prosperity. The province of New York was what it was, and acquired the prominence and preëminence that came to it, more through his efforts than through those of any other man.

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III

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

Because of the discoveries of Columbus, Spain claimed all of the New World except the eastern part of Brazil. The voyage of John Cabot was made the basis of the English claim to the whole Atlantic Coast from Labrador to the Carolinas. The French claimed the valley of the St. Lawrence, the region about the Great Lakes and the whole of the great Mississippi Valley because of the voyages, explorations and discoveries of Cartier, Champlain, LaSalle and others. The Dutch claimed the country from the Connecticut River to the Delaware, basing their claim on the voyage and discovery of Henry Hudson. The Swedes claimed a small territory on the Delaware. These overlapping and conflicting claims were destined to be the source of controversy and conflict.

For some reason Spain never made any serious attempt to enforce her title to any territory along the Atlantic Coast north of the Carolinas. The Dutch under Stuyvesant drove the Swedes from the Delaware and they, in turn, were obliged to surrender all their American possessions to the English in 1664. This left the final struggle for supremacy between the French and the English—a struggle that lasted for a century and the outcome of which greatly changed the history of the world.

Chancellor Kent, in speaking of the part taken by New York in this struggle, says:

> Whenever war existed between Great Britain and France, the Province of New York was the principal theater of colonial contest. It became the Flanders of America and it had to sustain, from time to time, the scourge and fury of savage and Canadian devastation.

We need only to cast an eye upon our geographical position, and read the affecting details of the formidable expeditions, and the frightful incursions, which laid waste to our northern and western frontiers between 1690 and the conquest of Canada in 1760, to be deeply impressed with a sense of the difficulties which this colony had to encounter and the fortitude and perseverance with which they were overcome. The leading men who swayed the House of Assembly or directed the popular voice, never wanted valor and virtue adequate to the crisis.

In this great struggle more was involved than at first appears. It was not merely the French against the English. It was a struggle between greatly differing forms of civilization. As Parkman has well expressed it, "it was feudalism against democracy; Popery against Protestantism; the sword against the plowshare; the issue was long in doubt because it was union confronting division; energy confronting apathy; military centralization opposed to industrial democracy."

What a diversity of races, religions, interests, and conditions entered into the struggle for the control of "The Great Warpath!" There were Indians, French, and English. There were Protestants, Catholics and pagans. There was the best blood of Old England, the Highlanders from Scotland, the courageous and impulsive Irish, the finest and the most despicable of the French, the provincials from the various English colonies, the Canadian inhabitants and the representatives of half a hundred Indian tribes.

Here were heard the whir of the arrow, the crack of the rifle and the roar of cannon. Here were seen the light birch bark canoe and the heavy keel boat. Here all extremes met. The struggle was a long and bitter one. There could be no compromise. It was a struggle that could end only with the complete overthrow of one of the parties concerned. It was a struggle for the possession of a country that was destined to form an important part of a nation not yet born—one of the greatest nations of the world.

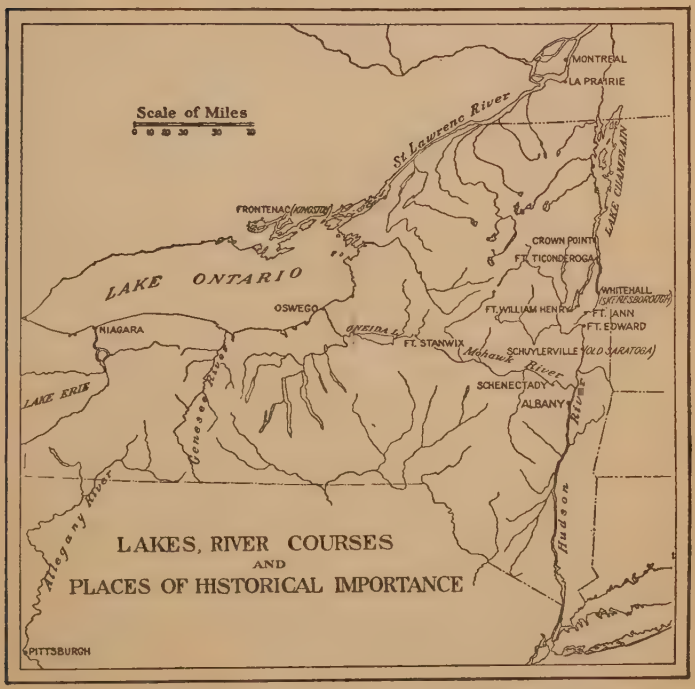
The long route from the Hudson River to Montreal was a warpath from prehistoric times till the close of the Revolu-

tion. Nearly every foot of it is historic ground. Here, in the early days, the Algonquins and the Iroquois struggled for possession. Here civilized men joined with savages in a struggle for the same territory. Here reëchoed the sound of the war whoop and the call of the bugle. Here were seen the tartans of the Highlanders, the brilliant scarlet uniforms of the British, the less showy dress of the French, and the varied garb of the provincial troops and, mingled with all, were savages in their war paint. Here was the carnage of battle, the butchery of captives, the torture of prisoners, the murder of women and children, the horrors of the siege, and the terrors of plague. Here were the cultured Jesuit priests and the uncouth, uncultured and unfeeling savages.

The French were established in Canada; the English in New England, New York, and along the Atlantic Coast. Lakes George and Champlain were two great links connecting the valley of the Hudson with that of the St. Lawrence, and this was the strategic territory coveted by each nation. It was along this route that the greater part of the fighting took place, and New York became the scene of a long and bloody struggle.

The territory of the French completely surrounded the English territory on the landward side. Albany, Niagara and Montreal were at the angles of a strategic triangle. Oswego was the important point on Lake Ontario from which Niagara, Frontenac and Montreal might all be easily and quickly reached by water. Fort Stanwix, on the narrow strip of land between Wood Creek and the headwaters of the Mohawk, commanded the route from the Mohawk to Oswego. Fort Edward on the Hudson commanded the carry to Lake Champlain and also that to Lake George. There was another fort, known as Fort Anne, at the junction of the Half-Way Brook with the Wood Creek that flows into Lake Champlain. It was at the highest point of land on the water route from New York to Montreal, a distance of about 350 miles, and it had an elevation of only 147 feet above sea level. The Hudson River was in the only low-lying, wide-open gap in the

whole Appalachian system. There is no other similar gateway between the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. The influence of the physical geography of New York on both military and commercial affairs is discussed elsewhere.



The French hoped to keep the English restricted to the narrow territory that they occupied on the Atlantic Coast and eventually even to drive them from that. On the other hand the English were bent on pushing inland. The attempt of the English to establish themselves in the Ohio Valley, and the movement of the French into the valley of Champlain, precipitated a contest that was sure to come some time.

There were three phases of the French and English strug-

gle—one for the possession of Acadia, another for northern New York and New England, and a third for the west, especially the valley of the Ohio, and the country around the Great Lakes. New York having the gateway to the west through the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, and the gateway to the north through Lakes George and Champlain, felt the burdens and faced the dangers of this long struggle as did none of the other colonies.

In the great struggle which took place the advantage of numbers lay with the English but in all other respects the French were favored. The English were divided into many independent and jealous colonies while the French were a unit. There was no one who had the power to compel the English colonies to act together, and they rarely did so, but the French Governor of Canada was supreme and the French were united in a desire to build up a great New France in America. The English colonies were not only jealous of each other but each one distrusted its royal governor and, except in the presence of immediate danger, were far more likely to hinder than to help him in his efforts to provide for the common defense.

Having briefly sketched the conditions that existed in America at the opening of the great struggle for supremacy, matters will be taken up somewhat in detail, giving most prominence to those movements in which New York was most directly concerned, but sufficient attention to others to give a fairly accurate and clear picture of the struggle as a whole. It may add to the clearness of the picture if the various movements are discussed in the order in which they occurred.

1609.—While Champlain's fight with the Mohawks at Ticonderoga was no part of the great struggle between the French and the English, it nevertheless had much to do with the outcome and may, in a certain sense, be regarded as the first act in the great drama.

1629.—In 1628 Sir William Alexander and Gervase Kirke were principally instrumental in fitting out an expedition against Quebec. Letters of marque were issued by the King.

Kirke's oldest son was in command of the fleet, and two other sons held subordinate positions. On the 10th of July a messenger from Kirke demanded the surrender of Quebec, which was promptly refused by Champlain. A few days later Kirke fought the French fleet under Roquemont and captured or sunk every vessel. Satisfied with this exploit he returned to England but the next year he again sailed for Canada. On the 20th of July he again appeared before Quebec with a force that Champlain was unable to resist. Kirke planted the Cross of St. George as a token that the whole country belonged to the British. A vast territory was easily taken and as lightly given up as King Charles, for personal financial considerations, soon returned the country to France by means of a treaty. He needed the money on account of his struggle with Parliament. This act of his resulted later in involving both Great Britain and her American colonies in bloody and extensive wars extending over a century. It was one hundred and thirty years after this capture of Quebec before the French were driven out of Canada.

1690.—This year Frontenac sent a force of two hundred and ten men, nearly one-half of them Indians, against Albany. Unmindful of the experience of Courcelle, twenty-four years earlier, they set out in the dead of winter. When they reached Ticonderoga the Indians insisted upon knowing where they were being led, and when told that they were to attack Albany, they strongly objected, and when Schuylerville was reached they took the trail leading to Schenectady instead of keeping on toward Albany. After some vain remonstrances the French followed them. Albany was defended by cannon and the Indians always dreaded to attack a place so protected.

Schenectady was the most western English outpost. It was only thirty-seven miles from Schuylerville, but it took the French and Indians nine days to go that distance. A heavy thaw had set in and they waded knee-deep through the snow and slush. Before they reached Schenectady a sudden change in the weather took place. It grew extremely cold,

the wind blew bitterly and great quantities of snow fell. The trail became almost impassable. When they approached the town they were chilled and benumbed with cold and nearly exhausted with their exertions. They had been twenty-two days on their way and were in such condition that they thought seriously of surrendering as the only means of saving their lives, but when their scouts brought word of the defenseless condition of the little town they planned an attack.

The people of Schenectady had heard that the French were planning a movement against them, but they thought it wholly impracticable for men to march several hundred miles in midwinter through deep snow, carrying their supplies with them. Then the Leisler troubles had caused division. The people in Schenectady favored Leisler while those of Albany were opposed to him. A lieutenant and a few men were stationed at Schenectady, but as they were under the orders of the Albany authorities, the people of Schenectady were opposed to them and would not coöperate with them in any way. The officer was unable to maintain any discipline outside the blockhouse and his advice was sneered at. To show their contempt of the soldiers and their fears, the settlers would not keep anyone on guard or close their gates for the night. They expressed their derision of the soldiers and their contempt for the precautions the officer urged by making a snowman at each gate to keep guard against what they believed to be an imaginary foe. There was little order or discipline. Dearly did the inhabitants pay for their divisions, lack of wisdom and recklessness.

The village was surrounded by a palisade that had two gates, one opening to the east and the other to the west. There was a small blockhouse near one of the gates where the few soldiers in the village were stationed. The French and Indians reached Schenectady on Saturday, the 8th of February, about eleven o'clock in the evening. In order that every house might be attacked at the same moment the French divided their force into small parties. At a given signal the

doors of all the houses were burst open. Not a person knew or suspected the presence of an enemy till the horrible war whoop was heard. Lieutenant Talmadge commanding the blockhouse made a stubborn defense, but the little structure was soon set on fire and he and all his men were killed or captured.

For two hours there was a scene that beggars description. Houses were set on fire and the settlers massacred. There was an indiscriminate murder of men, women and children. There were scenes too horrible to be described. Schuyler in his report of the affair, said: "No pen can write and no words can express the cruelties that were committed."

Eighty or ninety of the inhabitants were taken prisoners. Sixty were killed: thirty-eight men and boys, ten women, and twelve children. Those who escaped death and capture fled through the snow toward Albany, nearly naked. They suffered severely from exposure, several losing limbs. Simon Schermerhorn, one of the fugitives, though severely wounded, rode to Albany and gave the alarm, reaching the city at daybreak.

A number of Mohawks were at Schenectady at the time of the attack, but none of them was harmed, as one of the purposes of the expedition was to disturb the pleasant relations existing between the English and the Indians and to attach the latter to the French.

Of the eighty houses at Schenectady all but two were burned. As soon as the news of the massacre reached Albany a party of horsemen set out but they reached Schenectady too late, as the French and Indians had already begun their return to Canada.

Five hundred and fifteen men, three hundred and thirty of them furnished by New York, gathered at Albany on the 30th of July, 1690. They were commanded by Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, who brought one hundred and thirty-five men with him. The remaining fifty were furnished by Maryland. This force was to move against Montreal, coöperating with Sir William Phips, who was to attack

Quebec by sea. There was so much sickness in Winthrop's command that he went no farther than Whitehall, but Captain John Schuyler asked and obtained permission to go on. Forty white men and one hundred Indians volunteered to go with him. They surprised La Prairie, killed some of the inhabitants, took a number of prisoners and destroyed considerable property. This expedition is noteworthy chiefly because it was the first armed force of white men to enter Canada from the colonies by the way of the Lakes. Captain Schuyler was the grandfather of General Philip Schuyler.

1691.—This year Peter Schuyler, the Mayor of Albany and brother of Captain John Schuyler, who led the expedition into Canada the year before, set out on the 21st of June with less than three hundred men, about half of whom were Indians. He followed the route taken by his brother the previous year. At La Prairie he met and defeated a force twice as large as his own, destroyed the crops of the French, and began a retreat to his boats. Before reaching them he was met by another force sent to intercept him and a very stubborn and bloody fight followed. Frontenac said it was the most hotly contested engagement ever fought in Canada. Schuyler succeeded in reaching his boats and making his way back to Albany, but forty of his men were killed and a large number wounded. The French suffered still more severely. These two expeditions of the Schuylers were very important because they were instrumental in retaining the loyalty of the Five Nations, who had begun to waver because of the ability, energy and success of the French. With the Indians all things were measured by success or failure. Peter Schuyler, who led the last expedition, was a great friend of the Indians and a great favorite with them. It was he whom they called "Quider," being unable to pronounce his given name. Bancroft calls Peter Schuyler "the Washington of his times."

1698.—The depredations of the Mohawks in Canada continued to be so persistent, and so disastrous to the French, that Frontenac resolved to punish them severely. Toward the

end of January, 1693, an expedition consisting of six hundred and twenty-five men, mostly Indians, marched southward over the route that from time immemorial had been the thoroughfare of Indian war parties. After a journey of sixteen days, they reached the two lower Mohawk towns, captured both of them, burned one, and confined their prisoners in the other. So far they met with no resistance. They approached the third town in the evening and hid in the forest till midnight. The Mohawks had no suspicion of danger and no sentinels were on watch. One of the Canadian Indians climbed the palisades and, finding all the inhabitants asleep, opened the gates and let his companions in. A severe fight took place but it lasted only a short time. Twenty or thirty Mohawks were killed and nearly three hundred, mostly women and children, taken prisoners.

A portion of the Indian allies of the French refused to take any further part in the campaign against the Mohawks, so a retreat was begun. In the meantime, Peter Schuyler had gathered a force of five or six hundred men, some of them Oneidas, and appeared on the scene. The French hastily constructed a fort of the Iroquois pattern. Schuyler attacked them and there was severe fighting without any decisive results. Schuyler's force, which had been hastily gathered and had no stock of provisions, was soon suffering for want of food. In the meantime the French force escaped under the cover of a severe snowstorm. As soon as a supply of provisions was secured, Schuyler started in pursuit of the French whom he overtook, but they declared that if they were attacked they would kill all their prisoners, and this prevented their being molested further.

The French made their way back to Canada, suffering terribly, though no foe pursued them. When they reached Lake George they found that the melting ice had become so weak that it would not bear them, so they were obliged to make their way along the pathless shores, through the forest and thick underbrush, over the rough ground, and through the melting snow. When they reached Lake Champlain they

found that the provisions that they had left there had rotted. Starvation stared them in the face. They scraped away the snow to search for chestnuts and beechnuts. They boiled their moccasins for the little nourishment that they could furnish. When they reached Canada, they were worn, weak and starved. They had endured great suffering and barely reached home alive.

This was the last party, made up chiefly of Indians, that passed over this famous warpath. From that time on it was a struggle between the French and the English, in which white men took the principal part, though the Indians were still a factor of no small importance.

1700.—The condition of affairs just preceding what is known as "Queen Anne's War," should be understood in a general way in order to fully appreciate the attitude of New York. The province had been a bulwark of defense to the colonies to the south of her, though these had borne but little of the expense. During five years of war, Virginia, Maryland, East Jersey and Connecticut had contributed only £3,501. Massachusetts gave nothing but she had her hands full in defending her own borders. At this time New York and New England were in no condition to carry on a war. Their resources had been nearly exhausted. Their soldiers were ragged and their forts dilapidated. But for Schuyler, Livingston and Van Courtlandt, who advanced their own private funds, and were never repaid, the soldiers of New York would have been without rations. The Five Nations, who had become very distrustful, were greatly disturbed and filled with fears because the French told them that they were English slaves not English subjects, and that the King of England had ordered the Governor of New York to poison them. Such French soldiers as Joncaire, Maricourt and Longueit, and such Jesuits as Bruyas, Lamberville and Vaillant played most skillfully upon the fears of the Five Nations and not without some degree of success.

Governor Bellomont of New York tried to allay the fears of the Indians and told them that the Jesuits were "the

greatest lyars and impostors in the world." As the result of this controversy there was a French party and an English party in each Indian town. The French influence was the greater with the western nations and the English with those of the east. The French Jesuits made some converts in each of the nations, particularly among the Mohawks. They induced these converts to remove to St. Louis and Caughnawaga, a little above Montreal, where their descendants are still to be found. They were known as Caughnawagas, or the Praying Indians.

1709.—Samuel Vetch went to England to ask aid for the purpose of conquering Canada. He made a favorable impression on the British authorities and was promised a squadron and five regiments of regular troops. New England was to raise twelve hundred men and join in a movement against Quebec by the way of the St. Lawrence. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut were to raise fifteen hundred men for the purpose of coöperation through a movement against Montreal by the way of Wood Creek and Lake Champlain. New York raised over one-half of this force. Abraham Schuyler succeeded in inducing the Five Nations to aid in the campaign. New York entered into this movement heartily and the colony opened a road to Lake Champlain. The expedition, under the command of Colonel Francis Nicholson, gathered at Albany. As Nicholson marched up the Hudson he built three forts, one at Schuylerville known as Fort Saratoga, another at the "Great Carrying Place" on the site afterwards occupied by Fort Edward, which was called Fort Nicholson, and the third, known as Fort Anne, was at the junction of Half-Way Brook and Wood Creek. While Nicholson was at Fort Anne, the Governor of Canada sent a force of fifteen hundred men against him but, hearing that the English had the stronger force, the French did not come south of Crown Point.

An extremely fatal sickness broke out in Nicholson's camp. There were charges that the enemy had poisoned the springs but it is probable that the disease was a malignant

form of dysentery caused by the low, wet ground and the extremely unsanitary conditions of the camp. The fleet promised by England was sent to Portugal to meet a contingency there, so the whole movement failed and in October Nicholson returned to Albany and disbanded his army.

1710.—This year the New England Militia joined with the British and captured Port Royal, which had been taken from the French twice before—once by Major Sedgwick in 1654 and again by Sir William Phips in 1609—but in each case it was returned to France when a treaty of peace was concluded. Now it was permanently retained and in course of time led to the expulsion of the Acadians, a matter in which New York had no part.

1711.—This year a British fleet with five thousand troops was sent to Boston, from which place it sailed against Quebec on the 30th of July. Massachusetts raised an additional force consisting of nine ships of war, two bomb ketches, and sixty transports carrying about twelve thousand troops. The fleet was caught in a great storm in the lower St. Lawrence and eight transports, one store ship, and one sutler's sloop were wrecked and about seven hundred and fifty lives lost. Admiral Walker, who commanded the fleet, seems to have lacked either enthusiasm or courage as he called his officers together after the storm and, after consultation, decided to abandon the expedition because they had no skilled pilots which, of course, was known as well before the expedition sailed as then; besides, the conclusion does not seem to have been very well grounded when one remembers that Sir William Phips found his way up the river twenty-one years earlier under similar conditions.

Colonel Francis Nicholson had raised a force of twenty-three hundred men to coöperate with Walker by moving on Montreal, but when he learned of the failure of Walker's expedition he returned to Albany, after having burned the wooden forts he had constructed.

1720.—This year the French began to fortify Louisburg. They spent $10,000,000 there, making it one of the strongest

places in the world, equaled in strength only by Quebec and Gibraltar. This made Louisburg a place of great importance for the possession of which the French and the English contended again and again.

1722.—For many years New York was the only rival of Canada for the control of the west, the controversy being over the control of the fur trade. The Five Nations acted as middlemen between the Indians of the middle west and the merchants of New York City. The influence of these merchants reached as far west as the Mississippi.

In order to interfere with the fur trade of the English, the French spared no effort to keep peace between the Indian tribes of the west and to prevent their establishing friendly relations, and especially trade relations with the Five Nations. The English had an advantage over the French in that they furnished better goods and at a lower price.

For nearly two hundred years the chief business of Albany was trading for furs with the Indians of the north and west. In the course of time the French began to divert the trade of the western Indians by building a fort and trading station at Niagara. To meet this movement the English built a fort at Oswego which virtually became a lake port of Albany. A trading post was established there in 1720 and Governor Burnet built a fort there in 1727.

For a long time the French in Canada and the English in New York sought to control the valuable fur trade of the northwest with varying success, but in the main to the gradually increasing advantage of the English. Each country claimed the Iroquois country from Lake George to Lake Erie. When the French decided that it would be for their advantage to establish a post at Niagara they sent Joncaire, who lived with the Senecas, to secure permission from them. To offset this, Governor Hunter sent Peter and Philip Schuyler to oppose the designs of the French. The Five Nations, conscious of their waning powers, were not inclined to cast their fortunes wholly with either party but, in the end, the Senecas consented to the French erecting a fort at Niagara. It

was located at the same place that Denonville had built a fort in 1687. This action, as has already been stated, led to the erection of a fort at Oswego by the English. This alarmed the French and aroused great indignation on their part. They called a council of war to meet at Quebec. This council resolved to send a force of two thousand men against Oswego, but as France and England were at peace at that time, Governor Beauharnois of Canada contented himself with sending a summons to the English officer at Oswego commanding him to withdraw, to which, of course, the latter paid no attention.

The fort at Oswego became an important military station and gave the Indians north of Lake Ontario a nearer and also a better market for their furs. To meet these adverse conditions the French established a trading post at Toronto and built two armed vessels that gave them control of the lake. Oswego was a source of friction for a long period, and its possession was greatly desired by each of the contending parties. It was captured and destroyed by Montcalm in 1757 and recaptured and rebuilt by Bradstreet the following year.

1731.—The French attempted to establish themselves in the Champlain Valley as early as 1726. They first tried locating a post on the east shore of Lake Champlain opposite Crown Point, but the vigorous opposition of Massachusetts led them to abandon it. In 1731 they took possession of Crown Point and built a fort known as Fort St. Frederic. This was clearly upon English territory. All that section of the country concededly belonged to the Iroquois and the French had never acquired any show of title to it.

In 1696, thirty-five years before the French occupancy, the Six Nations had granted a large territory which included Crown Point, to Dominie Dellius of Albany. While both Massachusetts and New York protested against this occupancy of English territory by the French, they would not unite to expel them. New York was engaged in a chronic quarrel with her colonial governor and, in addition to this, was occupied with a quarrel with New Jersey, so the French

were left free to act as they deemed best—one of many illustrations showing how unity on the one hand and division on the other operated to the advantage of the French.

This advanced French post was a constant menace both to New York and to New England, forming a rendezvous from which bands of French and Indians set out on expeditions against the frontier settlements and to which they returned for rest and safety and to prepare for future forays.

Fort St. Frederic was situated at a very narrow part of the lake and completely commanded the navigation at that point. From year to year the French strengthened this fort and from it expeditions were sent out for the destruction of Deerfield, Schenectady and other points along the frontier. Soon after the erection of Fort St. Frederic, a settlement of considerable size sprang up on each side of the lake. There was another little village half a mile southwest from the fort and a little hamlet of four houses a little farther away. As early as 1749, a large sailboat made regular trips between Crown Point and St. Johns in Canada.

1744.—This year bore witness to the value of Crown Point to the French and the blunder of the English in permitting the French to establish themselves there. From this point nearly thirty marauding expeditions were fitted out to ravage the territory of Rensselaer and Saratoga counties. New York was wholly unprepared for hostilities at this time. All the frontier forts were in a dilapidated condition. Saratoga was burned and the inhabitants massacred. Among the slain was a brother of Colonel Philip Schuyler. Hoosick, Schaghticoke and Stillwater were forsaken. The whole country to the very gates of Albany was abandoned or unguarded.

At a council meeting held at Albany, King Hendrick said: "You burnt your own fort at Saraghtogee and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you. Look about your country and see, you have no fortifications about you, no, not even to this city. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither and the French may easily come down and turn you out of doors."

1745.—There was a small settlement of Dutch farmers at Saratoga (Schuylerville). A small stockaded fort had been built for their protection, but it had been allowed to become so completely dilapidated as to be of no value as a means of defense. This was the northernmost settlement in New York at that time and, therefore, most exposed to an attack from the enemy. The fort was in so bad a condition that the dozen soldiers stationed there were not able to keep either themselves or their supplies dry. As the Assembly of the colony and the merchants of Albany refused to furnish the money necessary for repairing and strengthening the fort, the Governor withdrew the little garrison. The troops had hardly left before the enemy appeared. The French ranger, M. Marin, planned an attack upon the settlements in the Connecticut Valley. He set out with a force of about five hundred men, half of them Indians, and reached Crown Point the 13th of November. Here a council was held and it was decided that it was too late in the season to venture to cross the mountains, so they decided to attack Saratoga.

The French paddled up Lake Champlain, passed along the north shore of South Bay, over the Fort Anne Mountains and on to Fort Edward, where a trader by the name of John H. Lydius had established a post, his house being on the site of old Fort Nicholson. Here they captured four white men, a boy and two Indians. Leaving these in care of a guard of twenty men, they passed south over the old military road built by Peter Schuyler in 1709. On their way to Saratoga they captured half a dozen men and sent them back to the Lydius trading post.

Saratoga was made up of a single narrow street reaching from half a mile above Fish Creek to two miles below it. It contained thirty dwellings, four flour mills, a blacksmith shop, barns, granaries, etc. The place was attacked on the night of the 28th of November. The fort, all the houses and other buildings were burned. Thirty of the inhabitants were killed, Philip Schuyler being among the number. About one hundred persons were carried away as prisoners. Such a

storm of indignation was aroused that the Assembly voted £150 to rebuild the fort, a sum wholly inadequate for the purpose, but a feeble structure was erected. The Indians were surprised and disgusted at the action of the colonists as they could not understand how politics often interfered with the proper defense of the colony. In 1747 Colonel Peter Schuyler was stationed at Saratoga with his regiment, but was compelled to abandon the post for want of supplies. Governor Clinton directed Colonel Roberts to examine the fort and, in case he found it incapable of defense, to burn it. This he did.

Louisburg was the strongest fortress in America. The French had expended immense sums to make it impregnable. At this time, 1745, it was garrisoned by two thousand men. It seemed a hopeless task to attempt its capture with any ordinary force, yet the provincials to whom this fortress was a constant menace, did just that rash thing and, as sometimes happens, success attended the reckless movement. The New England colonies raised four thousand men who were placed under the command of William Pepperrell, a merchant, a very popular man, but wholly without military experience. The expedition consisted of the land force, a little fleet of thirteen vessels mounting two hundred and thirty-six guns, and ninety transports carrying the troops and supplies. The expedition sailed from Boston on the 24th of March and arrived at Canseau, a port about fifty miles from Louisburg, early in April. Here Pepperrell was joined by Commander Warren of the Royal Navy with three ships of war, a force sufficiently strong to prevent any interference from any French vessels that might chance to be in that vicinity. The siege was carried on under almost incredible hardships and with such energy that the French surrendered on the 17th of June. In England the news was received with the greatest astonishment, the English people not thinking it possible that a small provincial force, commanded by men of little or no military experience, could capture one of the strongest fortresses in the world, even though supported by

an English fleet. Pepperrell was made a baronet, and Warren an admiral, in recognition of their services.

1749.—This date is a very important one, marking a forward French movement of even greater significance than the building of Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point. The Governor of Canada sent Celoron de Bienville, with a force of one hundred and fifty officers and men, to inspect the country between the Niagara and Ohio rivers. They traveled more than three thousand miles and went as far south as West Virginia. They went up the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac, crossed Lake Ontario in canoes, made their way to Lake Erie, passed through the forest to Chautauqua Lake, on to the site of the city of Jamestown, then again through the forest to the Allegheny River. Here, on the 29th of July, 1749, Bienville took formal possession of the country in the name of Louis XV. The royal arms of France were stamped on a piece of tin and nailed to a tree. At the foot of the tree was buried a plate of lead with the following inscription: "A token of a renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, of all the streams that fall into it, and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, notably by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle." Similar plates, some of which have since been found, were buried at different points.

1752.—This was a year of warlike measures though there was ostensibly peace between England and France. Neither party was willing to stand idly by and see the other take possession of the Ohio country. The French made the first movement in 1749, as just related. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a force to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. This was a position of great strategic importance. Captain Trent had begun a fort there and Colonel Frye and Major Washington were on the way to reinforce him. For some reason Trent went back to Will's

Creek and left Ensign Ward with forty men to continue the work. On the 17th of April a force of five hundred French appeared, planted cannon and demanded the surrender of the fort. Ward was not strong enough to resist. This was the beginning of what led to the disastrous Braddock campaign.

1755.—Braddock landed at Alexandria, Virginia, bringing with him two regiments of British regulars, the first substantial force of English troops brought to this country. While England did not declare war against France till the 18th of May, 1756, nor France against England till a few days later than that, there was much fighting in 1755 not only on land but at sea as well, where the English captured three hundred French trading vessels and eight thousand sailors.

Braddock called a council of the colonial governors. Sir William Johnson and Benjamin Franklin were present by special invitation. A plan of campaign was outlined. There were to be four distinct movements. The leaders were to be General Braddock, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, Colonel Monckton of the British regular army, and William Johnson of New York, the latter being chosen chiefly because of his influence with the Six Nations. All the movements, except that of Johnson, will be considered very briefly.

Braddock was to lead the movement for the capture of Fort Duquesne. He had about twenty-two hundred men, composed of two regiments of British regulars, and a body of provincials, chiefly Virginians, who were commanded by Washington. Braddock had no faith in the provincials and would not listen to advice but managed his army as though he were on the plains of Europe fighting continental troops instead of contending with savages in a forest. The result was a slaughter of his troops. As Braddock approached Fort Duquesne, all the Indians and most of the French were disposed to abandon the place as they felt that they were not strong enough to hold it against the overwhelming force of the English. Captain Beaujeu, however, favored going out

to meet the English, hoping to lead them into an ambush. After an earnest controversy this plan was adopted. A force of nine hundred men, over two-thirds of them Indians, marched out to meet a force more than twice as large as their own. The battle took place seven miles from the fort. The Indians were sheltered in the forest while the British were exposed to fire from every direction. Only the Virginians, who had had experience in this kind of warfare, did any effective fighting. It is doubtful if the British regulars ever caught sight of an enemy. They fought with determined courage but merely fired in the direction of an unseen foe and did but little, if any, damage to the enemy. The courage of the British officers was of the highest order. They exposed themselves as fearlessly as did the common soldiers, but mere courage counted for nothing under the peculiar circumstances. The merciless slaughter went steadily on. When retreat began it soon became a disorderly flight of panic-stricken men. Of the 86 British officers, 63 were killed or wounded, Braddock being among the number. Out of the 1,373 men and non-commissioned officers, only 459 escaped unharmed. Only about a dozen of the French were injured. The Indians suffered more, but not severely.

If Niagara could be taken, all the French posts in the west would be cut off and of necessity abandoned. Governor Shirley was to attempt this task. He reached Albany in July. From there he went to Schenectady, ascended the Mohawk to the Great Carrying Place, where the city of Rome now stands, crossed to Wood Creek, went down it to Oneida Lake, through it to Oswego River, and down Oswego River to the fort at its mouth. This occupied twenty days. It was Shirley's purpose to cross the lake and capture Frontenac, but he had only fifteen hundred men and the French had as many. A council was held and it was the unanimous expression that they were not strong enough to cross the lake and attack the French, and they dared not move against Niagara with a strong French force at Frontenac that would be sure to cross the lake and capture Oswego if they left it, and so

cut off their communications. At the close of October Shirley returned to Albany leaving seven hundred men at Oswego.

Colonel Monckton commanded the expedition that was to march against Acadia. It consisted of about eighteen hundred men. On the 2d of June they appeared before Beau Sejour, and the garrison surrendered on the 12th. Had the expedition ended here it would have won a creditable record, but the forcible removal of some seven thousand Acadians was one of the most cruel acts recorded in history.

The fourth expedition which had for its purpose the reduction of Crown Point and the opening of the way to Canada, was intrusted to William Johnson. He was to have twenty-five hundred men from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and one thousand from New York. He was also promised one thousand Iroquois warriors but, owing to the interference of Governor Shirley, the Iroquois sent him only six hundred. Johnson's force was about four thousand. Among the New England officers were some who were men of note during the Revolution. Colonel Phineas Lyman of Connecticut was second in command. Among the other officers were Seth Pomeroy, Israel Putnam, John Stark and Ephraim Williams. The greater part of the force reached Fort Lyman, the name of which was then changed to Fort Edward in honor of the then Prince of Wales, the third week in August. On the 28th Johnson with thirty-four hundred men reached Lac St. Sacrement, which he renamed, calling it Lake George in honor of the King. Soon after Colonel Lyman, who had been left at Fort Edward to await the arrival of some tardy troops, joined Johnson at Lake George. Not a foot of land had ever been cleared there or a building of any kind erected. Nature had not been disturbed. While Johnson was busy clearing land and providing for the accommodation of his army at Lake George, Dieskau, who was at Crown Point with thirty-five hundred men, decided not to wait but to move against Johnson, hoping to take him by surprise. With a force of sixteen hundred men he went up

Lake Champlain and camped one night at Ticonderoga. This was the first occupation of that place by the French and they were the first body of white men to occupy it. Dieskau went up Lake Champlain as far as South Bay, then along its north shore and came out within four miles of Fort Edward, which he had planned to capture, thus cutting off Johnson from his source of supplies. Dieskau captured a messenger from Johnson, who had in his possession letters that gave full information as to the force at Fort Edward and at Lake George. Dieskau's force consisted of two hundred regulars, eight hundred Canadian militia and six hundred Indians. The latter objected to an attack on Fort Edward on account of the cannon mounted there, and demanded to be led against Johnson at Lake George. Dieskau had been a German field-marshal and, having little faith in the fighting qualities of militia, he yielded to the demands of the Indians.

In the meantime Johnson learned of the movements of the French and, rightly judging that they meant to capture Fort Edward and cut him off from communication with Albany, decided to send five hundred men for the relief of the fort and another force to South Bay to cut off the retreat of the French. Old King Hendrick, who was in command of the Mohawks, objected, saying that each detachment would be beaten in turn. Finally it was decided to send out one thousand troops and two hundred Indians in three divisions. Again, King Hendrick objected, saying: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." But the men were sent out in three divisions, Colonel Williams leading the advance. When about two miles from camp, Williams halted and waited till the other two divisions came up. When the force under Williams left camp, Johnson formed a rude breastwork through the use of wagons, batteaux and fallen trees. Some of the heavy cannon that were on the lake shore waiting to be put on boats for transportation to Ticonderoga were brought up and placed in position.

When Dieskau learned of the movement of Johnson's forces, he planned an ambuscade for the force under Williams. The

latter, trained Indian fighter that he was, accompanied by King Hendrick and the Indians under his command, both knowing of the presence of the enemy between them and Fort Edward, marched on without having any scouts in advance and, as a natural result, marched into the ambuscade prepared for them. When less than four miles from Lake George a single musket was fired, which was followed with volley after volley, accompanied with terrific yells. King Hendrick was killed the first fire. Soon after, Colonel Williams, who had mounted a large bowlder that he might better direct the movements of his men, was shot through the head and instantly killed.

The provincials and Indians retreated in confusion, closely followed by the French forces. When the English reached a little pond, since known as Bloody Pond, they rallied and checked the French. As soon as Johnson heard the firing he sent out another party of three hundred men under Lieutenant Colonel Cole. This force reached the English as they had checked the advance of the French at the little pond just named. Cole covered the retreat as the panic-stricken men of Colonel Williams fell back to the lake.

Johnson's whole army was thrown into confusion by the return of the demoralized force that Colonel Williams had commanded, and if Dieskau had been able to follow up his victory without any delay, he would probably have been able to defeat Johnson and possibly capture his entire force at Lake George. But when his Indians and Canadian militia saw the mounted cannon they could not be induced to charge Johnson's rude works and the delay in bringing up the small force of French regulars gave Johnson's men time to recover their self-possession. The French charged with great bravery and the loss of life was heavy. The French regulars were nearly annihilated. Both Johnson and Dieskau were wounded, the latter so severely that he died some years later from the wounds then received. The French were beaten and retreated in confusion, leaving most of their baggage. Before the battle at the lake was over, some of the Indians, and some

of the militia as well, deserted Dieskau and returned to the field of the morning's fight to scalp and plunder the dead.

The commanding officer at Fort Edward heard the firing in the direction of Lake George and sent out Captains McGinnis and Folsom with their companies to reconnoiter. When they reached Bloody Pond they found seated around it some three hundred Canadians and Indians who had deserted Dieskau at Lake George. A severe fight followed. The French finally gave way and fled toward South Bay, leaving their baggage behind them. Several prisoners were taken. It is said that the fight at this place was so severe, and the number of bodies thrown into the pond so large, that its waters were tinged with blood, hence the name Bloody Pond. The action here spoken of is known as "The Bloody Morning Scout." The loss of the French this day is said to have been about seven hundred and that of the English about two hundred and thirty.

Johnson has been blamed for not following up his victory by a movement against Crown Point. Colonel Lyman, who was in command at Lake George after Johnson was wounded, urged such a movement very strongly as did most of the provincial officers. Johnson, himself, states that he might have yielded to their urging if he had not been suffering from his wound, but he felt it unwise to risk the loss of what had been gained. The French had been repulsed, it is true, but he could no longer depend upon the Iroquois after the death of King Hendrick. There were two thousand fresh French troops at Crown Point and a possibility of their being reinforced before he could reach them. His own loss had been quite heavy and he had many wounded to care for. The English had been beaten everywhere that year, and the people had lost heart. Under all these circumstances, to move so late in the season fifty miles into the enemy's country, and far from his base of supplies, upon an enterprise the outcome of which at the least would be somewhat doubtful and defeat disastrous, was a risk that he felt was not warranted by any possible gain that could come from a successful effort. He re-

mained at the head of the lake and built a fort which he called Fort William Henry, in honor of William Henry, the Duke of Cumberland and a brother of George the Third. At this time the French built a fort at Ticonderoga which they called Carillon. The outposts of the opposing forces were now less than forty miles apart. Johnson left seven hundred men to garrison Fort William Henry during the winter and the French were busy with axe and saw at Ticonderoga. At these two places the opposing forces spent the winter, preparing as best they could for the coming contest that was to be fiercer and bloodier than any yet dreamed of by the contestants. All the effort made up to this time, and all the blood spilled, had occurred when no declaration of war had been made by either of the contesting parties.

1756.—The defeat of Braddock brought about disastrous consequences. It enabled the French to arouse the animosity of the Indians against the English. The Delawares and the Shawnees, long friendly to the English, took the lead against them and many of the Ohio Indians joined with them. The whole of the western tribes rose and overran the frontier. Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia suffered severely. Only the loyalty of the Iroquois, and especially of the Mohawk nation, prevented even a worse condition on the New York frontier.

After a year of active hostility, both on land and at sea, England declared war against France on the 18th of May, 1756. France sent Montcalm to Canada to look after her interests and direct her forces. England suffered from a weak and inefficient government at home, and her affairs in America were in the hands of weaklings. The following two years were the dreariest, the most humiliating, and the most disheartening in all English history. Lord Loudon, General Abercrombie, and General Webb proved to be totally inefficient.

After the fatal campaign of 1755 the command of the English forces devolved upon Governor Shirley, who was soon superseded by John Campbell, Earl of Loudon. As Loudon

was not in America at this time, Abercrombie, the next in command, was in authority but he, too, being temporarily out of the country, the active command for a short time was vested in Colonel Daniel Webb. During the short time that Shirley was in command he planned to strengthen Oswego and make it the base of operations against Frontenac. He assembled a considerable force there and had sent two engineers to superintend the strengthening of the fort. As he was about to send an additional force he was superseded by Webb, who was soon relieved by Abercrombie. In July Loudon arrived and took command. The season was not half over and yet there had been four different commanders and, as a matter of course, nothing of importance had been accomplished. Some boats and batteaux were built at Lake George for the purpose of transporting an army through the lake on its way to Ticonderoga. The fortifications at Fort Edward and at Lake George were strengthened. At this time Montcalm was at Ticonderoga with fifty-three hundred troops, while Loudon had ten thousand scattered along the road from Albany to Lake George. Loudon was slow, dull and irresolute. Franklin said he was "like St. George on the tavern signboards, alway on horseback but never getting ahead."

It seemed as though the English ministry were determined to put all possible obstacles in the way of success. It promulgated an order that was about as mischievous and foolish as any set of men could possibly conceive. It provided that no provincial officer of any rank should, under any circumstances, rank higher than a senior captain of British regulars. A provincial general of wide experience and unusual ability not only might be, but in some cases actually was, outranked by a British major just come of age and who had never been in action or seen a shot fired in actual conflict. Washington, Johnson, Lyman, Bradstreet, and Winslow, any or all of them, would be outranked by an inexperienced British boy with a commission as major. This aroused and exasperated the colonial officers beyond measure. It was with great difficulty that they were kept from throwing up their commands

and going home. This order was one of the irritations that paved the way for the Revolution. If the British officers had shown great ability, the order of the ministry might have been borne more easily, but, beginning with Braddock and continuing in mortifying succession till the time of Wolfe, all the British generals sent to America seemed to be lacking in ability, to be ignorant of the conditions under which they must fight, and too obstinate to seek or to take advice. Defeat, disaster and humiliation were the almost invariable outcome of their efforts. Fighting with compact forces in the open fields of Europe was one thing; it was quite a different matter to fight in a wooded country against foes who fired from behind trees and rocks, never exposed themselves and never remained to meet a charge of their enemies. The provincials had learned to fight the Indians successfully by resorting to their methods, but they were sneered at by the British officers, though the latter were always beaten except when saved from disaster by the provincial troops.

Loudon decided to abandon the movements that had been planned against Fort Frontenac and Niagara and concentrate his efforts against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He aimed at little and accomplished nothing. Montcalm read the sluggish Loudon aright and judged that there would be no movement against Ticonderoga that season, so, leaving a small force for Ticonderoga's defense, he marched against Oswego and captured it, taking 1,600 prisoners, six vessels carrying 52 guns, 200 barges, 113 cannon and mortars, a large amount of ammunition and provisions, with $18,000 in cash. He destroyed the works and abandoned the place. This left the English without a foothold anywhere on Lake Ontario. They were not in possession of any point from which Niagara, Frontenac or Montreal could be threatened. The French were free to concentrate their entire force within a comparatively small area.

On the 12th of August, when it was altogether too late, Loudon decided to reinforce Oswego and sent Webb on that errand. When the latter reached the place where the city of

Rome now is, he learned of the disaster at Oswego. Scared out of his wits, as he was at Fort Edward on a later occasion, he destroyed the two forts on the carry between the headwaters of the Mohawk and Wood Creek, the only defense there was against a movement on the part of the French down the Mohawk Valley, and began a hasty retreat, frightened by an enemy that existed only in his imagination. This was the disastrous ending of a disastrous campaign. Though Loudon had a force greatly outnumbering that of the French, he was beaten and outgeneraled and lost possession of nearly all disputed territory.

1757.—While Loudon had not the ability to accomplish, he could spoil much. In 1757, instead of moving against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he stripped the Hudson Valley of its defenders for a vain and useless movement against Louisburg—a movement that failed because the English, as usual, were behind time in their movements. Loudon went no farther than Halifax.

Montcalm, quick to take advantage of Loudon's blunder, decided on a movement against Albany. He gathered a force of fifty-six hundred French and two thousand Indians, the latter representing more than forty tribes, some of them from as far west as Iowa. Montcalm must capture Fort William Henry before he could move against Albany. He began his movement the first of August. The greater part of his army went through Lake George. Two hundred and fifty boats, carrying five thousand men, were preceded by swarms of savages in canoes. This flotilla, with a thousand oars and paddles flashing in the sunlight, made a spectacular appearance. It must have made a strong appeal to the imagination of the savages, but if any English observer saw it he must have been filled with forebodings of the horrors to come. The French were within two miles of Fort William Henry before their approach was discovered.

To oppose Montcalm, Monro had twelve hundred men at Fort William Henry and Webb had twenty-six hundred at Fort Edward. A thousand more were scattered along the

route from Albany to Fort Edward; altogether not quite five thousand men to oppose Montcalm with about seventy-five hundred. But Montcalm could not hope for reinforcements while Webb had only to hold Montcalm in check for a time to bring him reinforcements that would make his force much greater than that of the French. He sent a thousand men to reinforce Monro. Then in a few days, frightened beyond expression, he advised Monro to surrender on the best terms he could make. This made the task of Colonel Monro doubly difficult as his enemy knew just how he was situated. The siege began on the 3d of August. As it progressed Monro reported the conditions to Webb again and again and asked for reinforcements. Eight days after the siege began Monro had lost three hundred men, and smallpox was raging in the fort. All his large cannon and mortars had either burst or been disabled by the enemy's fire. The walls of the fort were already breached and Montcalm had thirty-one cannon and fifteen mortars and howitzers in position at short range and ready to open fire. Monro had learned of the intercepted message from Webb and knew that he had no hope of reinforcements. Further resistance seemed worse than hopeless, so the white flag was displayed.

Terms of surrender were soon agreed upon. The French were to have all the cannon and other supplies in the fort and camp, and all the French prisoners taken during the war were to be returned within three months. The English were to march out with the honors of war, to be escorted to Fort Edward by a French force, and to agree not to serve against the French for a period of eighteen months. Before the terms of capitulation were signed, Montcalm called together the Indian chiefs and explained the conditions, to which they assented and agreed to control their young men.

Montcalm made no suitable provision for preventing the catastrophe that occurred. He must have known that the promise of the Indians would not be kept unless there was a strong show of force on the part of the French. The Indian chiefs had made a promise which, perhaps, they could not

enforce upon their followers. The Indians were accustomed to look upon scalps and plunder as the natural and proper fruits of victory.

Immediately after the surrender, the Indians entered the fort. As soon as the garrison had marched out the Indians murdered all the sick who had been left in charge of the French surgeons. The savages then went to the English camp where they spent the afternoon and evening. The women and children were crazed with fright. Only the most earnest efforts on the part of Montcalm prevented a general massacre at that time.

With that warning as to the temper and purpose of the Indians, it would seem that Montcalm would have seen the necessity of providing a suitable guard for the morning, but only three hundred regulars were assigned as an escort though some Canadian militia were added later, but they were quite as likely to take part in a massacre as to try to prevent it.

When, early in the morning, the English assembled for their march to Fort Edward, the Indians were out in force. They began to plunder the English immediately, snatching whatever pleased their fancy and tomahawking those who offered any resistance. Soon they secured rum and became more uncontrollable than before. Then the terrible war whoop was heard and there began the most shameful massacre of all Indian warfare. Men, women and children were seized, dragged off or killed and scalped on the spot. How many were killed and how many were carried to Canada will never be known. Accounts differ greatly. It is probable that at least seven hundred of the English fell into the hands of the savages, something more than half of whom were rescued by Montcalm. One can but think of the difference between this event and that of two years earlier at the same place when Johnson had defeated the French. On each occasion Indians would have murdered all the prisoners if allowed to do so, but not a prisoner taken by Johnson was injured while Montcalm wholly failed to control the Indians under his command. This event has forever tarnished the otherwise fair

fame of Montcalm. With a force of eight thousand men, not more than one-fourth of whom were Indians, it is idle to say that Montcalm could not have prevented the massacre that took place the morning after the surrender. Bradley says: "There is absolutely nothing to be said in defense of the French in this affair."

The French tore down the barracks, threw the large logs of the ramparts into a great pile upon which they placed the bodies of the English slain. The mighty funeral pyre burned the whole night. A week later Montcalm went down the lake leaving only a mass of charred ruins where so lately Fort William Henry stood. Lake George was once more a vacant wilderness. This event marked the culmination of French power in America. The shameful massacre at Fort William Henry seems to have marked the turning of the tide, though the French were to win one more great victory owing to the almost inconceivable stupidity of an English general.

Possibly Webb could not have prevented the disaster at Fort William Henry, though many thought otherwise. As soon as Sir William Johnson learned of the movement of Montcalm he went to Fort Edward with reinforcements and begged in vain to be allowed to go to the relief of Monro. In writing to Captain Philip Schuyler after the event Johnson, in speaking of the affair and of Webb, said:

If he [Webb] had let me go, I believe I could have compelled the French to raise the siege. If he had supported me with his whole force, I believe we could have beaten Montcalm. We had nearly seven thousand effective troops and Monro had about one thousand six hundred more in his garrison and fortified camp. Montcalm had no more than six thousand effective troops. But Webb, instead of marching to the relief of Monro, sent him a letter advising him to surrender on the best terms he could get. You know the rest. I hate to say it, but the truth must be told. Webb enjoys a solitary and unique distinction. He is the only British general—in short, I may say the only British officer of any rank—I ever knew or heard of who was personally a coward.

. . . . . .

That Webb was, and is, such, no one who served with him or under him could fail to perceive. He was nearly beside himself with physical fear after the fall of Fort William Henry. His army was in good spirits and anxious to fight. The general alone was panic-stricken!

"Remember Fort William Henry!" became a terrible war cry, and cost many a Canadian his life in the Ranger warfare that followed the massacre by the Indians under Montcalm. The partisans on each side were very active. They were almost omnipresent, being found on both sides of the lakes and throughout the surrounding country. These men were brave and reckless to the last degree. Parkman says, "Summer and winter, day and night, were alike to them." Marin was the most active of the French Rangers, while among the colonial partisans were Robert Rogers, Richard Rogers, John Stark, Israel Putnam and Seth Pomeroy.

Ticonderoga was the most southern post of the French, and it swarmed with Indians representing many tribes, some from the far west. Being stimulated by the rewards which the French offered for scalps they were constantly on the war-path. The most northern post of the English was Fort William Henry. Between these two posts, and in the country round about them, was many a foray and bloody conflict. In small parties of two and three, and larger ones reaching into the hundreds, both whites and Indians roamed through the country. No one was safe at any time or place, except he was within a fortified post. Men were shot within a few rods of such forts as Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Fort William Henry.

In June, 1756, Rogers and fifty men, went some distance down Lake George in whale boats, then carried their boats over the mountain, launched them in Lake Champlain and went down the lake to within six miles of Ticonderoga. They passed the fort one night under cover of darkness and, two nights later, passed Crown Point. A little later they captured and sunk a schooner and two lighters that were loaded

with flour, wine and brandy. Then they hid their boats and went across the country to Fort William Henry, taking eight prisoners with them.

The same year a party of French and Indians, one hundred and fifty in number, ambushed Captain Hodges and fifty men, killing all but six of them within a few miles of Fort William Henry.

In the middle of the winter of 1757 a party of French, Canadians and Indians attempted to take Fort William Henry by surprise, hoping to capture it. They reached the fort on the 18th of March but Major Eyre who, with three hundred and forty men, was stationed there, had learned of their approach and the attempt at capture was a failure. The French destroyed the hospital, a sawmill, several sloops, a number of boats and piles of lumber.

Rogers and his Rangers were unusually active during the winter of 1758. Their activity and daring made the French commander at Ticonderoga almost distracted. They butchered cattle, burned piles of wood and captured prisoners, under the very guns of the fort and even entered the ditches of the fort itself. About the middle of March, Rogers left Fort Edward with one hundred and eighty men. The first night he camped at Half-Way Brook, the second on Lake George at the Narrows, the third at Sabbath Day Point. The French commander at Ticonderoga learned of the approach of Rogers and sent out a party of two hundred Indians, and some French and Canadians to attack him. Rogers, not suspecting that his approach was known, proceeded toward Ticonderoga, and in the vicinity of Trout Brook met a party of ninety Indians whom he attacked at once. He killed several and the others retreated. As he followed them he came upon the whole force that had been sent against him, which outnumbered his nearly three to one. A stubborn and deadly fight followed and Rogers and his men were gradually beaten back. One hundred and eight of his party were killed or wounded and the remainder broke and fled, each man looking out for himself. Lieutenant Phillips and eighteen men were sur-

rounded and surrendered on a promise of good treatment, but they would have done far better to have fought till the last man was killed, as they were tied to trees and hacked to death, not a man escaping. Rogers and twenty of his men, made a running fight but finally scattered for greater safety. Rogers soon found himself at the top of the mountain overlooking Lake George. The side of the mountain was an abrupt precipice of a thousand feet. It was impossible to go down it, so he went down the back of the mountain, first putting his snowshoes on backward. When he reached the lake shore some distance away, he skirted it till he was at the foot of the precipice. Then, putting his snowshoes on properly, he walked up the lake toward Fort William Henry. When the Indians reached the top of the cliff and saw Rogers going up the lake, they thought he had gone down the precipice on his snowshoes and, feeling that he was under the protection of the Great Spirit, felt that it would be idle to follow him. This rock is still known as Roger's Slide.

Notwithstanding his narrow escape, Rogers was not at all daunted and six weeks later he captured three prisoners almost under the very walls of Crown Point.

After the battle of Ticonderoga both Abercrombie at Fort Edward and Montcalm at Ticonderoga were busy strengthening their works. Montcalm sent several large bodies of men to South Bay to reconnoiter the country between Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, and to prevent supplies being sent to the latter place. One of the parties sent out from South Bay destroyed a large wagon train and killed one hundred and sixteen men near Half-Way Brook. Abercrombie sent out Rogers with five hundred men to put a stop to such movements. They crossed Lake George and went over the mountains to Lake Champlain hoping to intercept the French, who had been at South Bay, but they were too late. Rogers then went toward Fort Edward to intercept a body of French and Indians said to be in that vicinity. He fell into an ambush set for him by the famous French Ranger, Marin, who with five hundred men, was scouting in that section.

Putnam, who commanded the advance force, was captured by a big Indian and bound to a tree. The fight was very bitter and stubborn and each party was driven back several times. Putnam was between the opposing forces and exposed to the fire of each. The French at last were driven from the field, but the Indian who captured Putnam carried him away as a prisoner. The Indians tied him to a tree, piled wood around him and set fire to it, but a sudden rain extinguished the flames. The savages started the fire afresh and Putnam would have been burned to death had not the French leader saved his life. An account of a few of the many deeds of the Rangers of these times has been given. One more will be quite sufficient to make clear what was suffered at this time on the New York frontier.

The most remote settlement on the Mohawk was at German Flatts, where Herkimer now is. This was a settlement of Germans from the Palatinate. At three o'clock of the morning of the 12th of November, 1757, a French officer named Beletre, with a force of three hundred French and Indians, surprised the settlement. All the dwellings, barns and other buildings were burned. Nearly fifty of the inhabitants were killed and nearly three times as many—mainly women and children—made prisoners. They were taken to Canada and paraded in the streets of Montreal. One man was killed in the presence of many white spectators, his body cooked and his companions forced to eat his flesh. This is stated on the authority of Bourgainville. Some French writers assert that mothers were made to eat their own children. Bourgainville shuddered at the sight of these horrors, but was powerless to prevent them. At this time Canadian public opinion was pretty lenient regarding the actions of the Indians so long as it was the English who were the sufferers. Bigot, the Intendant, said the savages must be kept in good humor at any cost. The latter reeled in crowds through the streets of Montreal drunk, insolent, offensive, unrestrained and dangerous. Never before or after were the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxons in America at so low an ebb. Oswego and

Fort William Henry were scenes of desolation and Crown Point and Ticonderoga were in the hands of the French. Louisburg still held out. The colonies were disheartened and their Indian allies had lost faith in the English. The English government was in the most incapable hands it had ever known and there was gloom on every hand.

1758.—The incapable Newcastle had now given place to the able, forceful and energetic Pitt. Vigorous measures were planned for America. Ticonderoga, Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were to be the objective points of the campaign of 1758. Forbes was to lead the movement against Fort Duquesne, Amherst that against Louisburg, while the expedition against Ticonderoga was to be commanded by the slow, dull and incapable Abercrombie; but Lord Howe was to be the second in command and much was hoped and expected of him. He was regarded as being a most promising young officer, Wolfe declaring him to be "the best officer in the English army." Howe was not only a fine soldier and free from the narrow-minded prejudices so common among the British officers of that time, but he grasped the colonial point of view and recognized the worth of the men who had had experience in border warfare. In speaking of the British officers in America, Hart, in his "Fall of New France," says that both Loudon and Abercrombie were "notorious for previous incompetency."

An attempt was made to reduce Louisburg. Amherst was to lead twelve thousand men against it. Admiral Boscawen was to coöperate with him and for this purpose had twenty-three ships of the line and seventeen frigates. While Amherst and Boscawen were attempting the reduction of the strongest fortress in America, Abercrombie assembled twenty thousand men at Albany for a movement against the French at Ticonderoga. He had the largest, strongest and best equipped force ever gathered under one command in America. One-third of his army was made up of British regulars.

The movements against Fort Duquesne and Louisburg

EMBARKATION OF ABERCROMBIE

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drew so heavily upon the French forces for defense that Montcalm had less than four thousand men with which to oppose the overwhelming force of Abercrombie. It seemed the greatest folly to attempt the defense of Ticonderoga under such circumstances, but Montcalm decided on taking a chance on the stupidity of Abercrombie—a risk that the very recent past warranted and which the result justified.

Nine thousand provincial troops and seven thousand British regulars assembled at Lake George. The massacre at Fort William Henry only the year before was fresh in the minds of the men and they were eager to avenge the death of their friends and countrymen. On the 6th of July the largest army that had ever gathered at Lake George embarked on a fleet of more than a thousand boats: batteaux, whale boats and flat boats. Flags were flying, bands and bagpipes playing and bugles sounding. Barclay says: "The summer dawn was brilliant and cloudless. The sun had just risen over the mountain tops and chased away the mists that night had gathered along the swampy shores. Not a breath of air was stirring on the water, not a ripple ruffling the silver sheen of its surface."

Bradley writes as follows:

Ten thousand oars with measured beat caught the sunlight and the bands of the various regiments with their martial music woke the echoes of the mountains which, as the lake narrowed, lifted high above it on either side, their leafy sides and crests. Many a man went proudly down Lake George that day beneath the flag of England who, twenty years later, was upon this very spot to be found turning his sword against his mother country and his King. Lee was there, a hot-tempered British captain and, curiously enough, of marked unpopularity among the provincials. Stark and Israel Putnam, too, were present, hardy and conspicuous riflemen from New England frontier farms, and Philip Schuyler, Dutch gentleman and patroon, now leading a New York company and some day to be Washington's favorite general, and Alexander Hamilton's father-in-law.

Parkman says:

> The spectacle was superb; the brightness of the summer day, the romantic beauty of the scenery, the sheen and sparkle of the crystal waters, the countless islets tufted with pine, birch and fir, the bordering mountains with their green summits and sunny crags, the flash of oars and glitter of weapons, the banners, the varied uniforms and the notes of bugle, trumpet, bagpipe and drum answered and prolonged by a hundred woodland echoes.

Montcalm had less than four thousand men, but was expecting three thousand reinforcements. Abercrombie, learning this, resolved to make his attack at the earliest possible moment. Montcalm had built across the promontory a breastwork that was nine feet high, twenty feet thick at the base and ten at the top. It was constructed with many angles so as to afford an opportunity for a deadly cross-fire on an attacking force. The French had mounted heavy artillery and there was a deep and wide trench in front of the breastworks. For a hundred yards in front of it the ground was thickly covered with fallen trees, the tops pointing toward an approaching enemy, and many of the branches had been sharpened. It would not have been an easy task for a body of troops to have made its way through this tangled mass of fallen trees if no opposition were offered, and one cannot see why Abercrombie should have been so foolish as to order his men to assault these works in the face of such difficulties when, had he waited to bring up his cannon, he could very soon have destroyed the weak defenses or he could have taken a few cannon to the top of Mount Defiance, as did Burgoyne at a later day, and the French would have been compelled to abandon the place; or, had he marched by the fort toward the north, he could have prevented the coming of reinforcements and have cut off Montcalm's retreat. His force was more than ample for any of these movements, or for all of them, but he chose to take the only course that made defeat possible.

The army landed at the foot of the lake and at once began a reconnoissance. Putnam led the advance and was closely

followed by the whole army, marching in four columns, the first led by Lord Howe. They soon met a single battalion of the enemy who at once retreated. The English moved on and the first column soon crossed Trout Brook and entered a growth of immense pines and thick cedars, where they met a party of French and Indians who had become confused in their retreat. There was a sharp fire for a few minutes and Lord Howe was killed. Stark, Putnam and Rogers, with their Rangers, being accustomed to fighting under such conditions, at once engaged the enemy, some three hundred of whom were soon killed or wounded and the remainder, one hundred and forty-eight in number, surrendered. So far the movement was a success, but the English were greatly disheartened over the death of Lord Howe, who was loved and trusted by the entire army, while but few had faith in Abercrombie.

Against the works already described the English and provincials struggled for hours. Again and again they charged the works only to meet a storm of shot and to struggle hopelessly against the obstacles in their path. After charging the works for six times and losing two thousand men, the English began a retreat. Abercrombie, who still had an effective force that outnumbered that of Montcalm more than three to one and with which he might still have won an easy victory, became panic-stricken and hastened back to Fort William Henry, going in such haste as to leave behind him hundreds of barrels of provisions, and a large quantity of baggage. He fled as though pursued by a greatly superior force. Fiske says: "Our accounts agree in representing the general's conduct as disgraceful. He seems to have lost his head and thought only of escaping as from a superior foe. By the time he had returned to the head of the lake, Abercrombie found himself a laughing stock. People called him a poltroon, an old woman, Mrs. Nabbycrombie, and such other nicknames and epithets as served to relieve their feelings."

Ticonderoga was one of the bloodiest and most desperately fought battles of our history, both glorious and shameful: glorious because of the sublime courage of the men, shameful

because of the inexpressible stupidity of the commanding officer.

With Lake George and Ticonderoga one need not go abroad in order to visit scenes full of historical significance and fitted to arouse feelings of patriotism and love of country.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet believed that the French were stripping Fort Frontenac of its troops in order to provide for the defense of other posts, and he was confident that it could be easily captured. He presented his views to Lord Loudon, who was inclined to favor an expedition against Frontenac, but when Abercrombie took command of the army that was to operate against Canada he opposed the movement. Lord Howe believed in Bradstreet's plan and favored it. A council of war was held which advised an attempt to capture the place and Abercrombie gave a reluctant consent. He gave Bradstreet three thousand men, all but two hundred of whom were provincials. The little army which was joined by a few Oneidas went to Oswego by the Mohawk route. On the 22d of August, 1768, Bradstreet started to cross Lake Ontario in a fleet of whale boats. Three days later he landed near the French fort and the following day established himself within less than two hundred yards of it. As he expected, the fort was defended by a mere handful of men, only about one hundred in number. The French surrendered the fort on the 27th. Bradstreet played a part similar to that of Montcalm at an earlier date in the capture of Oswego and Fort William Henry, and Montcalm made the same mistake that Loudon did, which gave Bradstreet his opportunity. When it was too late, three thousand men were sent to relieve Frontenac, just as Loudon was too late in sending Webb to reinforce Oswego.

Bradstreet captured nine armed vessels at Frontenac, the entire French naval force on Lake Ontario. He kept the largest two to carry captured supplies to Oswego and destroyed the others. He secured sixty cannon, sixteen mortars, an immense quantity of provisions, naval stores and munitions of war, and a great quantity of Indian goods for

the western French posts. He dismantled the fort, burned the buildings and destroyed all supplies that he was unable to carry with him. The fall of Frontenac made Niagara and Fort Duquesne of little value. All the French posts on the Great Lakes and in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were cut off from communication with Montreal and therefore soon fell.

The beginning of the end had come. The success of Bradstreet had a great effect upon the Indians, confirming in their loyalty those who had adhered to the cause of the English and causing many of the Indian allies of the French to waver. Fort Duquesne fell in November and was renamed in honor of Pitt, the great English minister. This ended the campaign of 1758. The outlook for the coming year was gloomy enough for the French.

1759.—The long series of British disasters in America was about to come to an end. A vigorous campaign was determined upon. Wolfe was to be sent against Quebec, Prideaux was to attack Niagara, Oswego was to be reinforced, and Pittsburgh made secure. Amherst was to replace Abercrombie. In the spring of 1759 he began a movement, having Montreal as its objective point, and its purpose the aid of Wolfe by keeping as many French as possible in the Champlain Valley.

By the end of June Amherst was at Lake George with eleven thousand men, half of whom were British regulars. His army embarked on the 21st of July. There were repeated the scenes that marked the embarkation of Abercrombie the year before—the long procession of boats, the flaunting of banners, the display of brilliant uniforms and the sound of martial music.

The French had about twenty-three hundred men at Ticonderoga and the works had been strengthened, but Amherst was not Abercrombie. He did not attempt to charge the French works but prepared to besiege the place. When the English had approached to within six hundred yards of the works the French blew up one bastion, attempted the destruction of the whole works and retreated to Crown Point. Am-

herst was deliberate. Before moving again against the French he rebuilt the works at Ticonderoga.

Crown Point was the first French post established in the province of New York. A settlement of fifteen hundred inhabitants had grown up around the fort. There were fruit trees, vineyards and gardens. The country round about was settled and farms were cultivated. A motley congregation gathered in the church at Crown Point. There were richly dressed Frenchmen and feathered and paint-bedaubed savages. As soon as Amherst was ready to move upon Crown Point the French abandoned the place. It was with the deepest regret and the keenest sorrow that the Canadians left that beautiful country and abandoned forever the homes where they had lived so happily. A long line of barges carrying more than two thousand French soldiers, a hundred cannon, a great quantity of military supplies and all the inhabitants and their possessions, passed down the lake. The French then established themselves in a strong position on the Isle of Noix near the present Canadian line.

As usual, Amherst stopped to fortify before following up the French. He built a strong fort at Crown Point at a cost of $10,000,000. Its walls were of solid masonry and twenty-five feet thick. No use was ever made of this fort erected at so great a cost. Amherst widened and improved the road between Ticonderoga and Crown Point, constructed other roads and built several vessels. He sent out exploring parties and, in fact, did nearly everything that he could do, except move against the enemy and so aid Wolfe. When he was finally ready for an advance it was too late in the season to undertake a forward movement.

The surrender of Quebec in the fall of 1759, following as it did the fall of Niagara, and the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, brought the end very near. There was but little left for the campaign of 1760. Early in the spring of that year the French made a vain effort to recapture Quebec and fought the bloody battle of Saint-Foy. The war ended with the capture of Montreal on the 8th of September.

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IV

NEW YORK UNDER THE DUTCH

Those Dutch are a strong people. They raised their land out of a marsh and went on for a long period of time breeding cows and making cheese, and might have gone on with their cows and cheese till doomsday. But Spain comes over and says, "We want you to believe in St. Ignatius." "Very sorry," replied the Dutch, "but we can't." "God! but you must," says Spain; and they went about with guns and swords to make the Dutch believe in St. Ignatius. Never made them believe in him, but did succeed in breaking their own vertebral column, however, and raising the Dutch into a great nation.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

As we study the influence of the Dutch in making the state of New York we will find that their great contribution was that of religious liberty and toleration, and, second to it, their general fairness in their treatment of the Indians. These two features and some minor ones will be brought out in the following pages.

At the very moment that Champlain was fighting the Mohawks at Ticonderoga, Henry Hudson was sailing along the coast of New England. Apparently these two events had no relation to each other, but Hudson was soon to discover a great river and, as a result of that discovery, the Dutch were to establish a trading post at the head of navigation on that river, which would be in the Mohawk country. In the meantime the Indians would learn the secret of their defeat by Champlain—firearms.

When the Indians and the Dutch came together, the Indians were longing for muskets and ammunition which the Dutch possessed, and the latter were seeking for furs of which the Indians had an abundance. The exchange was soon made

to the advantage and satisfaction of both parties. This enabled the Mohawks to meet the French and Algonquins on equal terms. Their love for the Dutch was as warm as their hatred of the French was bitter. This love of one people and hatred of another, on the part of the Mohawks, was a matter of far-reaching consequence and played a very important part in the history of our state.

The Dutch were a commercial people and the physical condition of their country contributed to make them a maritime nation. The Dutch East India Company, an organization having vast powers, was engaged in a most profitable trade with India. Could an all-water route to that country be discovered their profits would be enormously increased. In common with all other maritime nations, the Dutch were greatly interested in finding such a route. Many men had been engaged in the search, one of the most noted of these being Henry Hudson. Perhaps no other man of his time was so familiar with navigation in high latitudes. Twice, under English auspices, he had tried to find a northwest passage to India, and failed. His employers not caring to invest money in a third effort, he took service with the Dutch East India Company.

In a little yacht, the *Half Moon,* a vessel of about eighty tons' burden, manned by about twenty men, part of them Dutch and part of them English, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam on the 4th of April, 1609. This time he was to attempt a northeast passage. He rounded the North Cape, and sailed for Nova Zembla but, before reaching that island, his way was blocked by ice, and heavy fogs added to the difficulty of navigation. As it was clear that even if there were a northeast passage it would not be a practical commercial route, Hudson reluctantly turned back.

He knew, and had corresponded with, John Smith. Like Smith, he believed in the existence of a northwest passage. Unwilling to go back to Holland and report a complete failure, he resolved to cross the ocean. On the 17th of July he entered Penobscot Bay, where he remained for a time, replac-

ing a mast that he had lost in his stormy passage across the Atlantic. This done, he sailed to the south and passed Cape Cod on the 4th of August. On the 18th he reached Chesapeake Bay. Here he recognized that he had entered a locality that Smith had thoroughly explored, so he turned again to the north. Keeping close to the shore that he might notice any openings in the coast line, he first entered Delaware Bay and, on the 4th of September, rounded Sandy Hook.

Who can imagine the feelings of the savages who, perhaps, had never seen any vessel larger than a canoe, as the *Half Moon* entered New York Harbor and sailed up the Hudson River? Who can conceive the exultation of Hudson as he entered the great river that bears his name, thinking that he had discovered the long-sought-for western passage! Why should he not have felt confident and exultant? It was a common belief in his time that the continent was a very narrow one, or that it was a series of islands with passages between them. The irregularity of the Atlantic Coast, with its sounds and great bays, had helped to strengthen this belief. Hudson thought he had entered an arm of the sea, and really he had, for that is what the Hudson is below the Highlands. The water was salt and the tide rose and fell. Hudson sailed up the river rejoicing but, as the stream narrowed, and the water ceased to be salt, his hopes waned. When he had reached a point near Albany where the water was too shallow to make it safe to proceed in the *Half Moon,* he sent some men a considerable distance up the river in a small boat. They reported that the river steadily grew narrower and shallower, so he reluctantly turned his prow down the stream, returned to Holland, and reported his discoveries, giving an account of the quantities of furs possessed by the Indians and the willingness of the latter to part with them for a few trinkets.

The discovery by Hudson was not an original one. Other white men had been before him, though probably he was in ignorance of that fact. During the winter of 1598 a few Hollanders belonging to the Greenland Company wintered on

Manhattan Island and built two small huts there. But much earlier than that, in the spring of 1524, Verrazano, a Florentine, in the employment of the French, explored the coast of North America, going as far north as Labrador. He entered New York Bay and went a short distance up the Hudson River in a small boat. He reported his discovery to the King of France, but the French being at war at that time, the discovery did not attract the attention that it probably would have done otherwise. Still, the French fitted out some vessels and built a trading post on an island just below Albany, but it was abandoned long before the coming of Hudson. In 1525, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, entered the Hudson River, sailed up it for some distance, and carried away a considerable quantity of furs obtained from the Indians by trade but, for some reason, the Spanish never again came so far north. As the discovery by Hudson was the only one that was followed by any permanent results, all the honor of a discoverer belongs to him.

The Hudson River has been known by a number of different names. The Iroquois called it Ca-ho-ha-ta-tea. Other Indian tribes knew it as the Shatemuck. Verrazano called it Le Grand. Hudson spoke of it as the Great River, or the Great River of the Mountains. The Dutch called it Mauritius in honor of Prince Maurice. It was often called the North River to distinguish it from the Delaware River, which was called the South River. To this day the Hudson is often called the North River.

Early Dutch Voyagers and Traders.—We must not think of the Dutch merely as a trading nation. No people loved liberty more or had made greater sacrifices for it. At the time of which we are writing they had just triumphantly emerged from a forty years' war with Spain. We owe our love of liberty to our Dutch ancestors quite as much as to the Puritans.

The next year after the discovery of Hudson, the Dutch East Indian Company sent over a vessel to engage in trade with the Indians. Several others soon engaged in the fur

trade and, at the same time, made some efforts at exploration and discovery. Among the most noted of these were Hendrick Christiaensen, Cornelis Jacobsen Mey and Adriaen Block. The last-named voyager came to this country in 1613 in the ship *Tiger*. One November night his vessel was burned just off the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. Block was compelled to spend the winter there and with characteristic energy he built a new vessel which he called the *Restless*, a little boat which was only 44½ feet long and 11½ feet wide. In the spring he proceeded to explore the coast east of Manhattan Island and discovered the Housatonic and the Connecticut rivers, the latter of which he called Fresh River to distinguish it from the Hudson, which was salt. He discovered and explored Narragansett Bay and two small islands at the eastern extremity of Long Island, to one of which he gave his name.

In 1614 the United New Netherland Company was chartered and given the monopoly of the trade with the new country. It was at this time that the name New Netherland seems to have been first applied to the Dutch possessions in America. If anyone else traded in the territory to which this company was given a monopoly, their vessels and cargoes were liable to confiscation, and the owners to a heavy fine, all to go to the New Netherland Company. The company was chartered for the short period of three years and, at the expiration of this time, a renewal was refused but the company was licensed to trade in the territory from year to year.

In 1540, the early French traders erected a fort just below Albany, on what is known as Castle Island, but it had been abandoned many years before the discovery of Hudson. The United New Netherland Company occupied and repaired this post, erected a trading house 26 feet by 36 feet in dimension, and surrounded it by a strong stockade 50 feet square, outside of which was a moat 18 feet wide. The place was garrisoned by twelve men, and the works mounted two cannon and eleven swivel guns. Another trading post was erected at the southern extremity of Manhattan Island, which gave the com-

pany the two most important trading stations in the colony at that time. The fort on Manhattan Island was made the headquarters of the company, thus giving that island at the outset the commercial supremacy that it has ever since maintained.

Having one post at the mouth of the Hudson and another at the head of navigation, it was but natural that an intermediate point should be chosen as well, so one was established at Esopus (now Kingston) or, as it was sometimes called, Wiltwyck. This particular place was doubtless chosen because the Esopus Creek and Rondout Creek, together with the Wallkill River and the various branches of these streams, gave easy access to a large stretch of fertile country and opened up trade with several Indian tribes. In the time of Stuyvesant there was much trouble with the Esopus Indians and other tribes in that vicinity.

The Dutch did not rely solely on their posts for commerce with the Indians, but sent runners through the country making the acquaintance of new tribes and cementing the friendship of those already known, thus greatly increasing the traffic of the company.

The Dutch West India Company.—The Dutch West India Company was chartered in 1621. The States-General gave it almost imperial powers. Although a private company, its charter permitted it to contract alliances, declare war, make peace, build forts and ships, organize cities, administer justice, appoint and dismiss governors and perform such other offices as might be necessary to the carrying-on of its enterprises. Declaration of war, making of peace and the more important appointments were subject to the approval of the States-General. The company was given a monopoly of the trade on the Atlantic coasts of Africa and America. Any persons infringing upon its rights were liable to have their vessels seized which, with their cargoes, would become the property of the company.

In return for all these privileges the company was bound to carry on trade within the territory in which it was given

a monopoly, to attack the Spaniards in their American colonies, and Spanish ships upon the seas. The formation of the Great Dutch West India Company was, in part, for the purpose of fighting Spain in America; in part, to prevent the extension of Spanish settlements here, and, in a lesser degree, to build up trade.

In case of war the States-General was to furnish the company with twenty warships which the latter was to man and support at its own expense. In addition, the company was to maintain a fleet of its own of not less than twenty vessels. As a matter of fact, it sometimes had as many as seventy vessels in commission. Between 1626 and 1628 the company captured more than one hundred Spanish vessels, including a number of silver ships, and made enormous profits.

There is more or less uncertainty regarding the early government of New Netherland. There are no records of an earlier date than 1630. The first agent of the Dutch West India Company appears to have been Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, who held that office about a year and was followed by William Verhulst, who held the office for about the same length of time. Following him were four Dutch governors or director-generals who governed the colony during the remainder of the Dutch rule.

Peter Minuit, 1626-1633.—Peter Minuit was the first Dutch governor. It is commonly claimed that Peter Stuyvesant was the greatest of the Dutch governors and, if the matter be determined by a comparison of mere intellectual strength and ability, that is probably the case, but if it be determined by the far-reaching and beneficent consequences of one's acts, then Minuit may successfully contest the claim with Stuyvesant.

One of the first acts of Minuit was the purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians. He gave beads, ribbons and other trinkets to the value of twenty-four dollars for the twenty-two thousand acres of land that the island contains—a seemingly paltry sum, but land was not worth much in this country at that time. The fact that he paid for it at all is a

matter worthy of consideration when it is remembered that in many of the colonies the settlers took the land without paying the Indians anything. Then, the Indians were satisfied with what they received, and perhaps properly so, as it is said that the amount paid would, had it been put at interest at that time at current rates of interest and been compounded till the present time, have amounted to a sum sufficient to buy all the land of the island today. The notable thing is that Minuit set the example of paying the Indians for their land—an example that all his successors followed and the English after them.

Minuit established, and always maintained, friendly relations with the Indians as did all his successors excepting Kieft. The fact that the Indians were recognized as the owners of the land which they occupied had, no doubt, not a little to do with the maintaining of the peaceable relations that existed. Minuit also lived in peace and harmony with the settlers in New England and the people of his own province.

The greatest act of Minuit's administration, which was probably the most important act of the Dutch period, was the establishment of religious liberty and toleration. No other colony, not even Pennsylvania or Maryland, equaled New York in this respect. The famous Toleration Act of Maryland would not be regarded as very tolerant now anywhere, and never would have been in New Netherland any more than in New York in our time. Minuit welcomed Walloons, Huguenots, Lutherans, Baptists, Catholics and members of all other religious organizations. When they took the oath of allegiance, they were equal in rights and privileges to the members of the Dutch Reformed Church. There was absolutely no discrimination of any nature on account of religious belief. The importance of this fact cannot well be overestimated. It made New Amsterdam cosmopolitan almost from the first. The colony of New Netherland was, and the province and state of New York has since been, "the melting pot" of all nations, all religions and all political beliefs.

Minuit was well fitted for the position that he occupied.

He had had much experience in controlling new countries through his long connection with the India Company. He had an inherent faculty for governing. He was possessed of a kindly disposition and was always inclined toward conciliation. The little settlement on Manhattan Island prospered under his wise management, but the plan of the company was not conducive to rapid growth in population and, under the management of a less tactful man than Minuit, would have been likely to prove fatal to prosperity. The settlers were not allowed to have any part in the government. The governor was given almost despotic power and, with the exception that he could not inflict capital punishment, he could do almost as he chose. Minuit's government was exceedingly despotic in theory but extremely liberal in fact. What a governor might do under the form of government that the West India Company organized is clearly shown in the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant.

The Dutch governors were assisted by a council appointed sometimes by the Amsterdam Chamber and sometimes by the governor himself, but the council had almost no power except as an advisory body. The governor possessed legislative, judicial and executive power. The most important of the other officials were a Schout Fiscal, who acted as sheriff and collector of customs, and the Koopman, who was the secretary of the province and the bookkeeper of the company's warehouse.

In 1623 about thirty families of Walloons (French Protestants from the Netherlands) came to this country. Most of them settled at Fort Orange, but some of them went to Long Island and located at what is now Wallabout Bay. These people made most excellent citizens, being capable and industrious, and some of them were skillful mechanics.

The first clergyman of the colony was Rev. Jonas Michaelius, who came to New Amsterdam in 1628. He was to hold religious services and instruct the children. The religious services were held in the loft of a horsemill. Previous to the coming of Michaelius there were "visitors of the sick" whose

business it was to read the Bible to the sick and conduct religious services Sunday mornings.

The Patroons.—In 1629 the Assembly of Nineteen proposed, and the States-General ratified, an act providing that any director of, or stockholder in, the West India Company might take up land along any stream to the extent of sixteen miles along one side of it, or eight miles on each side, and extending as far back "as the situation of the occupiers will permit," providing that within four years from the time of the announcement of their intention to occupy the land they settle upon it fifty or more people fifteen years of age or older. If a larger number than fifty settlers were located, the size of the grant might be proportionately increased. These great estates were known as manors and their proprietors were known as patroons. The largest manor, and the only one that was successful through a long period of time, was that of Kilaen Van Rensselaer, which included all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer and a part of Columbia.

The patroons, as was the universal custom among the Dutch, were required to satisfy the Indians for their interest in, and ownership of, the land. This they were able to do for a trifling sum. They were also required to maintain a minister and a schoolmaster for the benefit of their tenants. The patroons could dispose of their manors by will the same as any other property. In case a city grew up on a manor, the patroon of the manor could appoint all its officials. None of the tenants on a manor could leave it for the period for which they were bound, usually ten years, without a written permit from the patroon. A patroon had an exclusive right to hunt and fish on his manor and all the grains raised on his manor must be ground at his mill. The patroons were petty sovereigns within their domains and their tenants were little better than slaves of the soil for a term of years. It is surprising that the liberty-loving Dutch should have allowed to be introduced into their colony a modified form of feudalism, or that anyone could have been found who would submit to it. It prevented a rapid settlement of the colony and a far-off

echo of its evils is found in the insurrection known as the "anti-rent war," that occurred two hundred years later.

The patroons were permitted to trade along the coast, but they were obliged to bring their cargoes to New Amsterdam, whence they could be sent to Holland upon payment of a duty of five per cent. They were not permitted to engage in the fur trade at any point where the company had a factory.

All who came over as tenants of the patroons had their passage paid, and those who came over at their own expense had as much land given them as they could "properly cultivate." They were exempt from all taxes for a period of ten years, but in no case could they have any voice in the government. They were forbidden to engage in any kind of manufacturing or to take any part in the fur trade with the Indians, both these being monopolies of the company. The company agreed to provide the colonists "with as many slaves as they conveniently could."

In 1631 two Belgian ship-builders visited the colony and were so impressed with the abundance of excellent timber that they persuaded Minuit to engage in ship-building. Using the company's means, he caused a vessel of eight hundred tons' burden to be built. This was one of the largest vessels in the world at that time, and it was nearly two hundred years before another as large was built in this country. The vessel was very appropriately named the *New Netherland.* It cost much more to build it than had been expected and the company was greatly displeased.

Though forbidden to do so, the patroons did engage in the fur trade surreptitiously. The company thought Minuit was not as active in suppressing this illegal trade as he should have been, and that he was more interested in the welfare of the colonists than in the financial prosperity of the company. The great expense incurred by Minuit, in building the *New Netherland,* led to an investigation of the affairs of the colony, and this in turn led to the recall of Minuit.

The patroon system had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. It provided for schools and churches. It satis-

VIEW OF OLD NEW AMSTERDAM

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fied the Indians for their lands. But it introduced slavery, established monopoly and created an aristocratic class with special privileges.

Wouter Van Twiller, 1633-1637.—It is a little difficult to tell why Wouter Van Twiller should have been appointed Director-General of New Netherland unless it was because he had married a niece of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the most powerful and influential of the directors of the West India Company, who perhaps wanted in that position someone who would be favorable to his interests. Van Twiller had been to New Netherland twice in the employment of Van Rensselaer and he had been a clerk in the company's warehouse at Amsterdam for five years. His selection was a sorry choice and it occasioned much surprise. He was a person of questionable morals, unduly fond of good living; he had no practical knowledge of government and was not a good judge of men or their motives. He was irresolute, narrow-minded, slow in thought, word and act; possessed a petty spirit; was very stubborn, yet easily influenced by stronger minds, and beyond all else he was woefully lacking in judgment. Yet Van Twiller had some good qualities. He was a shrewd trader, possessed an unfailing good-nature and was naturally kind-hearted. He generally kept on good terms with those with whom he was brought in contact, but he exercised the least influence over the fortunes of the colony of any of the Dutch governors.

Van Twiller brought over with him one hundred and four soldiers, the first military force brought to this country. Everardus Bogardus, the second clergyman of the little colony on Manhattan Island, came over with Van Twiller. He was a much stronger character than his predecessor and, for many years, was a notable figure in the colony. He married Annetje Jans, a widow, and one of the richest persons in the colony, and this added to his importance and his influence. He had some differences with Van Twiller and many more with Kieft. Bogardus was not beyond reproach in all respects. He had a hasty temper, a brusque manner, and was

said to be very fond of strong drink, and sometimes unduly under its influence, but that did not mean as much in those days as it would now, as the use of strong drink was almost universal then. Clergymen usually drank, as did everyone else, and sometimes to excess, but whatever the shortcomings of Bogardus may have been, he stood firmly for that which he believed to be right and the little settlement was, without doubt, the better for his being a member of it.

The predecessor of Bogardus preached in the loft of the horsemill but the strong, resolute and forceful Bogardus would not tolerate such accommodations, so a church was built for him on Pearl Street and a parsonage near by. Bogardus not only preached most vigorously on Sunday, but he took an exceedingly active and effective part in civil affairs during the week. Soon, he and Kieft had differences and he denounced Kieft from his pulpit, calling him "a child of the devil and a most consummate villain." The director never after attended service.

Another notable event was the arrival, with Van Twiller, of a schoolmaster named Adam Roelentsen. The event was not a notable one because of what Roelentsen was or what he did, but as showing the importance which the Dutch placed upon education which, by the way, is evidenced by frequent reference to the matter in their records. The Dutch seem to have been more concerned in regard to the education of their children at this early date than was the case in any other colony with the possible exception of Massachusetts.

Van Twiller was very free in spending the money of the company. He built a guardhouse and barracks within the fort for the accommodation of the soldiers he brought over with him, and several small houses for their officers. He built within the fort, for his own use, the most elaborate dwelling which, at the time, could be found in all New Netherland. Van Twiller built for himself, on one of the company's farms, a house, a barn, a boathouse and a brewery. He used another farm for a tobacco plantation, tilling it with the company's slaves and appropriating the proceeds. The greater part of

the island was divided into six bouweries or farms for the company's use, two of which were used as has been mentioned and the others were wholly neglected.

In 1636 Van Twiller gave Roelof Jansen, who had been assistant superintendent of farms at Rensselaerwyck, a grant of sixty-two acres of land on Manhattan Island, situated a little to the northwest of Fort Amsterdam. This was the valuable estate that eventually came into the possession of Trinity Church and was the cause of much litigation. Jansen died soon after receiving the grant and the property went to his widow, who married Dominie Bogardus in 1638. After his death his widow returned to Rensselaerswyck, where she died in 1668.

Both the Dutch and the English claimed the territory of New Netherland. The following event illustrates the irresolution of Van Twiller as well as his incapacity. Soon after his arrival at New Amsterdam, an English vessel entered the harbor, having on board an assortment of goods for the Indian trade. The factor was Jacob Jacobs Eelkins, who had traded with the Indians at Fort Orange during the administration of the United New Netherland Company. Eelkins asked for a pass permitting him to go up the river. This Van Twiller refused. After a delay of a few days, during which there was more or less of controversy between Van Twiller and Eelkins, the latter repeated his request for a pass and said that if it were not given him he would sail without it, which he did to the great surprise of Van Twiller, who stood spellbound, gazing at the receding vessel. The director ordered a barrel of wine to be broached and, drinking a glass of the liquor, asked all those who loved the Prince of Orange to join him, which they did most willingly. But after the barrel was empty, no one manifested any disposition to molest the Englishman. Captain De Vries, one of the most powerful and most capable of the patroons who came to this country, remonstrated with Van Twiller and said that the guns of the fort should have opened fire upon the Englishman the moment he set sail. Spurred on by De Vries, Van Twiller sent several

vessels up the river to capture Eelkins and bring him back to New Amsterdam. They found that Eelkins had been at Fort Orange several days and that he had pitched his tent on shore and was doing a thriving business in trading for furs, his vessel already being partly loaded. He was disposed to resist the authority of Van Twiller, but the force sent up was too strong for him, so he was taken on board and brought back to New Amsterdam, where his furs and the cargo of his vessel were confiscated and he was ordered to put to sea with his ship, after being warned never again to interfere with the trade of the West India Company.

A little later than this the Indians massacred all the Dutch settlers on the Delaware and the post was occupied by a party of Virginians led by George Holmes, who began a trade with the Indians. When Van Twiller learned what had happened, he sent a force to the Delaware and brought the Virginians to New Amsterdam and, after reproving them sharply for invading Dutch territory, he sent them back to Virginia. Holmes and one other man chose to remain at New Amsterdam. They taught the Dutch how to raise tobacco and that soon became the most important industry of the colony, and continued to be for some years.

One of the most important events that occurred during the administration of Van Twiller was the grant of "staple right," which New Amsterdam received in 1633. This was a feudal privilege which compelled all vessels trading along the coast or on the Hudson River to unload their cargoes at New Amsterdam or pay certain duties. This gave New Amsterdam a monopoly on all the trade of the Dutch province and greatly increased its wealth and prosperity.

Van Twiller was thrifty and looked out for himself. In fact, it has been said that he looked out for nothing else. He bought, for his own use, Nutten Island, since known as Governor's Island, and two islands in the East River, becoming one of the largest private land-holders in New Netherland. He was removed from office in 1637, charged with diverting the money of the company to his own uses.

William Kieft, 1637-1647.—Again, the company made a sorry choice for governor. Kieft had been a bankrupt. He had been sent to Turkey to ransom Christian prisoners and was accused of leaving some in captivity and retaining the money sent for their ransom. He was active, inquisitive, self-important, selfish, greedy, hypocritical and vindictive. He was industrious and temperate but narrow in his views. He possessed an unfortunate temper, had no talent for managing men, and was utterly lacking in administrative ability.

Kieft found matters in a ruinous condition. The fort was out of repair, the guns dismounted, the company's farms untenanted, the cattle disposed of, only one windmill in working order; in fact, such a condition of affairs as might have been expected after four years of the management of the shiftless, and none too honest, Van Twiller.

Kieft proceeded to right matters with a vigorous hand. He issued proclamations almost without number. Fiske says: "If proclamations could reform society, the waspish and wiry little governor would have had the millennium in full operation within a twelvemonth." He ordered that no person in the employment of the company should trade in pelfries; that no furs should be exported without special permission; that no one should sell powder and arms to the Indians under pain of death; that all sailors should return to their vessels at nightfall; that no one should retail liquor "except those that sold wine at a decent price and in moderate quantities;" that fighting, lewdness, rebellion, theft, perjury, calumny, and "all other immoralities," should be prohibited. He fixed the hour at which people should go to bed and the hour at which they should begin, and finish, their day's work. People were forbidden to leave New Amsterdam without passports. But all his proclamations did not change the habits or the morals of the people.

Kieft was given permission to fix the number of men in his council. He appointed one man, gave him one vote and assigned two to himself, so the council was really Kieft himself or, speaking strictly, there really was no council. This

was rather a suggestive beginning of his administration.

At the close of the war with Spain, the States-General became more interested in the development of New Netherland which, up to that time, had been regarded as little more than a trading post. It insisted that the West India Company should adopt some practical plan to encourage the immigration of a good class of citizens and so insure a strong, permanent settlement. The monopoly of trade enjoyed by the West India Company was abolished and other liberal regulations were made that resulted in considerable immigration. Some men of wealth came to the colony and brought a large number of tenants with them. About this time a considerable number came from New England and Virginia because of the more liberal government of New Amsterdam and because of the perfect religious freedom. Some said they came "to escape the insufferable government of New England." To meet the demands of the additional settlers, Kieft purchased additional land of the Indians, chiefly in the counties of Queens and Westchester. Among the settlers who came from New England to New Netherland were John Underhill, the famous Indian fighter and one of the heroes of the Pequod war; Anne Hutchinson, a brilliant woman who was driven out of New England because of her religious views; Isaac Allerton, who came over in the *Mayflower;* and Thomas Willett, a Plymouth captain, who later became the first mayor of New York.

During Kieft's administration the West India Company offered to give all who came to New Netherland as much land as they "could properly cultivate" and to provide each man with a house, barn, cows, horses, pigs and all necessary agricultural implements. For this he was to pay two hundred dollars a year for six years. At the end of that time the farm became his, together with all the gain in stock, he having to return only what had been lent him. In 1640 a new class of landed proprietors was established known as "masters" or "colonists." Anyone who brought over five grown persons could occupy two hundred acres of land with the privilege of

hunting and fishing, and the title named above. At the same time the law permitting the establishment of great estates by the patroons was so modified that any inhabitant of New Netherland might select land along any bay or navigable stream having one mile of water front and extending back two miles.

Kieft established two annual fairs which were held upon Bowling Green, one in October for the display of fine cattle, the other in November for the exhibition of hogs. These fairs attracted so many visitors that a tavern was built for their accommodation. It fronted on East River and was located at what is now 73 Pearl Street, and was built at the Company's expense. In 1643 it was used as the Stadt Huys (City Hall).

Rev. Johannes Megapolensis came to New Netherland in 1642. At that time Bogardus was the only clergyman in the province. Megapolensis was employed by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and he settled in Rensselaerswyck (now Albany). At this time there were in the place about one hundred people who lived in twenty-five or thirty houses along the river. These houses were built of boards, thatched, and had no mason work except the chimneys. There was a wretched little fort, known as Fort Orange, which mounted four or five cannon and as many swivel guns. When Magapolensis came to Fort Orange there was no church, and services were held in his house. In 1643 a church was built that was thirty-four feet long and nineteen feet wide.

Dominie Megapolensis was a man of ability. He learned the Mohawk language and preached to the Indians. He was largely instrumental in securing the liberty of Father Jogues. He wrote a very interesting account of the Mohawks and never lost his interest in them. He will always take high rank among the early Indian missionaries. It should not be forgotten that the earnest efforts of Magapolensis with the Indians preceded by several years the first effort of John Eliot of whose work we hear so much, while but few know the earlier and quite as earnest efforts of Megapolensis, who remained in this country till his death in 1669. For a quar-

ter of a century he exercised a marked influence in the affairs of New Netherland.

A new church was built for Bogardus during Kieft's administration. It was the finest building in New Amsterdam. It was of stone and was within the fort. After a time Kieft and Bogardus quarreled bitterly, chiefly over Indian affairs. When Bogardus remonstrated with Kieft, the latter accused him of drunkenness and of allying himself with malcontents. The next Sunday Bogardus said from his pulpit: "What are the great men of our country but vessels of wrath and fountains of woe and trouble? They think of nothing but to plunder the property of others, to dismiss, to banish and to transport to Holland." From that time Kieft, who had been a noted churchgoer, ceased his attendance. He tried to induce others to take the same course. Bogardus from his pulpit charged Kieft with murder, covetousness and gross excesses. Kieft ordered drums to be beaten and cannon to be fired during the service to distract attention so that Bogardus might not be heard. He summoned Bogardus to appear before the council, charging him with being drunk both when in the pulpit and when out of it, and also with using slanderous language, sparing almost no one. Bogardus paid no attention to the summons. After a time mutual friends brought about a truce between the two men. Possibly Kieft and Bogardus were neither of them far wrong in their estimate of each other. Bogardus seems to have been both quarrelsome and intemperate. Kieft was wholly free from the latter fault.

The contrast between the Dutch of New York and the residents of New England, in their treatment of the Indians, was most marked. The latter were engaged in almost ceaseless Indian wars while the former were almost always on friendly terms with the natives, though their most exposed posts were at the very door of the strongest and the most warlike Indians of the continent. Of all the Dutch rulers and men of prominence, Kieft was the only exception to this rule. He is at least open to the suspicion of having planned

to bring about an Indian war for the purpose of gain. His first step was demanding tribute of corn, furs or wampum of the Indians on the ground that the Dutch had defended them against their enemies, which was not the case. As a matter of course the Indians refused and there was no apparent reason why they should have complied. It is doubtful if Kieft expected them to do so. While no effort was made to enforce payment, the demand left a feeling of irritation.

The Algonquins along the Hudson, on Long Island and in New Jersey were bitter enemies of the Iroquois. The Dutch in their treaties promised not to interfere in the Indian wars or to take sides in their quarrels; then they furnished the Iroquois with firearms and refused to do the same with the Algonquins, which were the weaker party. This irritated the Algonquins and wholly estranged the River Indians but the imprudent Kieft did not wait for the savages to take the aggressive.

Some swine had been stolen on Staten Island. The Raritan Indians, though living twenty miles away, were accused of the theft and also of attacking the yacht *Vrede*. Without making any investigation, Kieft sent out a party of fifty soldiers who attacked the Indians, killed several of them and destroyed their crops. This was the first of a series of foolish and wicked acts that culminated in a horrible Indian war. This was in July, 1640. In September, 1641, a man named Claes Smits was killed by a Weckquaesgeek Indian. In the eyes of a white man it was murder pure and simple; to an Indian it was a great virtue. Some sixteen years before this, when the Indian was a mere lad, he and his uncle and one or two other Indians were on their way to Fort Amsterdam with some beaver skins. The whole party, with the exception of the boy, were killed by some Dutchmen in order to obtain the furs. When the lad grew up he killed Smits in retaliation according to Indian custom. Kieft demanded that the murderer be given up. This the tribe were apparently both unwilling and unable to do. Kieft wished instant war but was

restrained through the influence of Bogardus, DeVries and others.

In the winter of 1643 a party of nearly one hundred Mohawks came down the river to collect tribute from the Tappans and Weckquaesgeeks. In a conflict that occurred seventy of the Algonquins were killed and many women and children made prisoners. The River Indians fled to the Dutch for protection. Not feeling safe on Manhattan Island some fled to Pavonia and others to Corlear's Hook. This was an opportunity for the Dutch to have acted as mediators between the Algonquins and their Mohawk foes and by so doing they might have won the friendship and gratitude of all the River tribes. DeVries and a majority of the people favored this course but Kieft was delighted with an opportunity to punish the Indians for the comparatively minor offenses they had committed. In this he was sustained by Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, who clamored for the extermination of the Indians. The counsel of the violent prevailed. In vain did Bogardus warn Kieft not to be rash. In vain did La Montagne call attention to the defenseless condition of the colony. In vain did DeVries represent that an attack could not be made without the consent of the Twelve Men, and his consent as chairman of the board. In vain did he foreshadow the ruin that would light on the Dutch who had settled on farms and had received no warning to be on their guard. He said to Kieft: "You go to break the Indians' heads; it is our own nation you are about to destroy. Nobody in the country knows anything of this!" This is a copy of the order issued by Kieft:

February 25, 1643. We authorize Maryn Andriessen, at his own request, with his associates, to attack a party of savages skulking behind Corlear's Hook, or plantation, and act with them in such a manner as they shall deem proper, and time and opportunity will permit. Sergeant Rodolf is commanded to take a troop of soldiers and lead them to Pavonia, and there to drive away and destroy the savages lying near Jan Evartsen's, but to spare as much as possible their wives and children and take them prisoners. Hans Stein, who

is well acquainted with the haunts of the Indians, is to go with him. The exploit should be executed at night with the greatest caution and prudence. God bless the expedition!

At Hoboken more than a hundred of the Indians were murdered. They offered no resistance and were butchered in cold blood. Men, women and children were killed indiscriminately. Warrior and squaw, mother and babe were massacred alike. Another party of the Dutch went to Corlear's Hook and massacred forty Indians there. Nothing in the history of savage warfare is more horrible. The atrocities committed were unspeakable.

This cruel, heartless, inhuman and unprovoked attack bore bitter fruit. Eleven Indian tribes joined in a war against the Dutch. Every outlying farm and all the smaller settlements were ravaged. At one time it looked as though the settlement on Manhattan Island would be completely destroyed. At the end of a month only four or five farms were left undisturbed.

Kieft's murder of the Indians at Pavonia and Corlear's Hook was followed by an attack on a Long Island tribe that had always lived in peace with the Dutch and been particularly friendly to them. The Dutch had not even a suspicion of any unfriendliness on their part. Kieft seems to have lost his senses. Feeling for the Indians he probably never had.

In the war that immediately followed the farmer was murdered in his field; women and children were carried into captivity; houses, barns, haystacks, grain, cattle and all crops were destroyed. Kieft had to bear the wrath of ruined farmers, childless men and widowed women. DeVries demanded of him: "Has it not happened just as I said, that you were only helping to shed Christian blood?" The director was humbled for the time. The colony in his charge was nearly ruined. There was talk of deposing him and sending him back to Holland. Things went from bad to worse. Many of the settlers went up to Fort Orange for safety, where the proximity of the Mohawks would prevent any attacks by the

Algonquins. Others returned to Holland. At the close of the war there were only about one hundred men on Manhattan Island capable of bearing arms. The whole of New Jersey was abandoned to the Indians. There were but few places anywhere, outside of Fort Orange and Fort Amsterdam, in the possession of the Dutch, and the latter place was hard pressed. Soon after the war began the Dutch had only two hundred and fifty men while the Indians had fifteen hundred. At this time one of the ablest men in the colony, and the only one in whom the Indians had any confidence, De Vries, who had had his property destroyed with the others, and who was financially ruined, decided to return to Holland. In a final interview with Kieft he said: "The murders in which you have shed so much innocent blood will yet be avenged upon your own head."

The colony was saved from utter destruction chiefly through the efforts of John Underhill, who had come to New Amsterdam from Massachusetts. He led several expeditions against the Indians and the last one compelled a peace. With one hundred and fifty men, he marched against the Connecticut Indians. At Strickland's Plain, not far from Stamford, a decisive battle was fought. The fight took place about midnight but a full moon shining upon the snow made it nearly as light as day. The Dutch surrounded the Indian village and began their attack. Whenever an Indian appeared he was shot down. After a time the village was set on fire. Over five hundred Indians were shot or burned to death. Only eight escaped. None of the Dutch were killed and only fifteen wounded. It was a stunning blow for the Indians, and it ended the war and saved the colony.

Kieft proclaimed a public thanksgiving for the result of Underhill's expedition. In this connection it might be observed that Thanksgiving is a Dutch, and not a New England, institution. The Pilgrims adopted a custom that they found in Holland during their residence there.

Soon after the close of the Indian war a wall was built across the island where Wall Street is now, partly for the

protection against attacks from the Indians and partly to protect the cattle.

On the 29th of August, 1641, Kieft called together all the masters and heads of families to consider what should be done in regard to the murder of Claes Smits by the Indians. This was the first popular assembly called in New Netherland. This assembly chose "Twelve Select Men" to consider the proposition submitted by the director. This body was opposed to the war with the Indians which Kieft was so anxious to enter upon. Later they gave a reluctant and conditioned consent to an attack upon the savages. The Twelve Men demanded the establishment of a council of at least five men, two of these to be chosen each year from the Twelve Men and to be chosen by the people. Kieft made a somewhat equivocal reply, saying: "I am not aware that the Twelve Men have received from the Commonalty larger powers than simply to give their advice respecting the murder of the late Claes Smits." He forbade the calling of any assemblies of the people without the express order of the director. The people wanted the same power that the people of Holland had and this the director would not grant. The Dutch in New Netherland were getting very early the same kind of experience that the people in New England had later. Their love of liberty and ideas of independence were aroused at an early day. In 1642 Kieft dissolved the organization of Twelve Men. He had received their reluctant consent to an attack upon the Indians and that was all that he wished of them.

In September, 1643, Kieft again summoned the people to counsel with him. They selected "Eight Men" to consider his propositions. These men had no real power but, as the representatives of the people, they exercised considerable influence. The idea of having a board of eight men elected by the people to represent them was borrowed from Holland. Two of the men chosen at this time, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, became very prominent in the history of the colony.

This board made certain recommendations most of which

Kieft considered "inexpedient." Later the Eight Men met and elected Cornelis Melyn their president. A strong letter, which they all signed, was written to the States-General reciting their condition and praying for relief. On the 18th of June Kieft summoned the Eight Men again and recommended the levying of an excise on beer, wine, brandy and beaver skins. The Eight Men opposed this but without effect. Three days later, without their knowledge, Kieft issued a proclamation saying that: "All other means having failed to provide for the expense of the war, it had been determined by the advice of the Eight Men chosen by the Commonalty to impose some duties."

On the 28th of October, 1644, the Eight Men addressed a letter to the West India Company reciting the condition of affairs that existed, asking for the recall of Kieft and the introduction into New Netherland of the municipal system of the Fatherland. Kieft's treatment of the Indians was the prime cause of his removal, but his total disregard of the wishes of the colonists and his dishonesty were contributory causes. When he was recalled, a proposition to pass a formal vote of thanks to him, which had always been done when there was a change of governors, was opposed by Kuyter and Melyn, who declared that there was not any reason for thanks.

Peter Stuyvesant, 1647-1664.—Peter Stuyvesant came to rule over a discouraged, distracted and heterogeneous people. As early as 1643 there were eighteen nationalities in New Netherland. There were almost interminable disputes over boundaries. The colony was badly in debt and its revenues were small. The Indians were still hostile. The outlook was not a cheerful one.

Stuyvesant had a very flattering reception at New Amsterdam. Guns were fired, and the whole population cheered and waved hats and handkerchiefs. He greeted the people as follows: "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers, and this land." Stuyvesant had been a soldier all his life and his faults were those of his calling accentuated by

a naturally autocratic temperament. He was accustomed to command and be obeyed without question. With these characteristics he got on better with his foes than with his friends. He was a better soldier than governor. He was the son of a clergyman, but early manifested a taste for military life. He was well educated, quite proficient in Latin, and somewhat vain of his accomplishments. He had served the West India Company for many years, and in its service lost a leg, which had been replaced with a wooden one that had a silver band, on account of which he was sometimes called "Old Silver Leg." He was a man of strong prejudices and passions, and the severest morality.

He married Judith Bayard, the daughter of a celebrated Paris clergyman. His sister had married a brother of Judith Bayard and was a widow with three small children. He brought both his family and his sister and her children with him when he came to New Amsterdam. Both Mrs. Bayard and Mrs. Stuyvesant were highly cultured women. The Stuyvesants and the Bayards have always been noted families in this country.

The wily Kieft exerted himself to the utmost to be agreeable to Stuyvesant. He escorted him to the Executive Mansion, which had already been vacated, and there they partook of the elaborate dinner that had been provided.

Melyn and Kuyter, the leading members of the Council of Eight, petitioned Stuyvesant for an inquiry into the conduct of Kieft during the Indian war, and that testimony be taken for use in a report to be sent home to Holland. The director appointed a commission to decide upon the propriety of granting such an inquiry. When the commission met, Stuyvesant said that "the two malignant fellows were disturbers of the peace, and that it was treason to complain of one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not." Kieft saw his opportunity and caused the arrest of Melyn and Kuyter on a charge of "rebellion and sedition."

Their trial lasted several days and caused the greatest excitement. Stuyvesant presided at the trial, though he had

prejudged the case. The men were pronounced guilty and Stuyvesant wished them hanged, but others would not consent to such extreme measures. Melyn was sentenced to be banished for seven years and to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, but Kuyter was to be banished for only three years and pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. These men were obliged to sign a written promise that they would never complain or speak in any way of what they had suffered from Kieft and Stuyvesant. They were denied the right of appeal to the home government, Stuyvesant saying, "If I were persuaded that you would bring this matter before their High Mightinesses I would have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." While the Dutch West India Company gave Stuyvesant less power than it had given his predecessors, he attempted to exercise more. On one occasion he said: "If anyone during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland that he may appeal in that way." These things show what an absolute despot he was, but still he meant to do what he thought was for the best interests of the colony and, with the exception of a few acts, he made a very good governor.

Melyn and Kuyter were sent to Holland on the vessel *Princess* that sailed soon after their trial. Kieft and Bogardus were on the same ship, the latter going to Holland to settle some of his difficulties, and the former going home to stay. The vessel was lost on the coast of Wales. During the storm, when it became apparent that the vessel could not be saved, Kieft confessed that he had wronged Melyn and Kuyter and asked their forgiveness. Eighty-one persons were drowned, Kieft and Bogardus among the number, but Melyn and Kuyter reached the shore. After the storm was over they dragged the place where the vessel went to pieces and recovered some of their papers. With these they went on to Holland and completely justified their actions. Melyn returned to New Amsterdam with a safe-conduct from the States-General, also a writ of mandamus citing Stuyvesant to appear at The Hague in person, or by attorney, to defend

himself as to the charges preferred against him. It happened that the people were assembled at church when Melyn landed, so he had the intense satisfaction of reading the judgment and the mandamus to the whole assemblage. Stuyvesant was stung and humiliated. He refused to have any communication with Melyn and declared that he would obey the mandamus by sending an attorney to speak for him. Aside from considerable correspondence and the sending of an attorney by Stuyvesant to speak for him before the States-General, no further action seems to have been taken in this matter, though the controversy between Stuyvesant and his enemies continued, and both parties sent envoys to Holland. One outcome of this excitement was to make New Netherland better known and to increase immigration.

The iron governor fairly rivaled Kieft in the matter of proclamations, but they were more sensible and far more effective. Stuyvesant was a marked contrast to Minuit. The latter had allowed the fullest religious liberty to all in the colony and so attracted all denominations, but Stuyvesant was an autocrat, both by nature and through training. He was also a fanatical Calvinist. The long-enduring policy of religious toleration that had always been observed by the Dutch, till the time of Stuyvesant, drew to the city Waldenses, Huguenots, Lutherans, Scotch Presbyterians, English Independents, Moravians, Anabaptists, Jews and other religious sects. The rule of the West India Company, which forbade the setting-up of any other church than the Dutch Reformed, had been ignored. This rule the fanatical and obstinate Stuyvesant began to enforce rigorously. He arrested and sent to Holland a Lutheran minister who had been sent over by his religious denomination to form a congregation in New Amsterdam. He fined and imprisoned Lutheran parents who refused to have their children baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church and banished from the province an unlicensed Baptist exhorter. But his hand fell the heaviest on the Quakers. One of them, named Robert Hodgson, settled in Hempstead and began preaching to the people of that

town. He was arrested and taken to New Amsterdam. Without being allowed to speak in his own defense, he was sentenced to two years' hard labor with a wheelbarrow, or to pay a fine of five hundred guilders and, as he had neither money nor friends, he could not pay his fine if he would. On a sultry summer day he was brought from his cell, chained to a wheelbarrow and ordered to load it. This he refused to do, saying that he had broken no law nor done any evil. He was stripped to the waist and beaten with a piece of rope till he fell to the ground. This was repeated on the second day and again on the third. After this he was kept for two nights and a day without bread or water and then hung up by the thumbs and cruelly beaten with rods. The general sympathy for the man was so pronounced, and its expression so general, that Stuyvesant was shamed into setting him free.

This is a very dark picture, but there are bits of light to relieve it. Henry Townsend, a leading citizen of Flushing, was fined eight pounds and condemned to be flogged and banished if he did not pay the fine. His offense was holding Quaker meetings in his own house. To their everlasting glory be it said, the town officers of Flushing refused to enforce this sentence, saying: "The law of love, peace and liberty, extending in the state to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, forms the true glory of Holland; so love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemn hatred, strife and bondage. But inasmuch as the Saviour hath said that it is impossible that scandal shall not come, but woe unto him by whom it cometh, we desire not to offend one of his little ones, under whatever form, name or title he appear, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker. Should any of these people come in love among us, therefore, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them. We shall give them free ingress and egress to our houses, as God shall persuade our consciences." There were more than thirty signers to that statement, and they brought down upon their devoted heads the wrath of Stuyvesant and he visited them with a heavy hand. The sheriff was cashiered and fined. The town clerk was thrown

into jail. The justices of the peace were suspended from office and heavy penalties were imposed upon some of the other signers.

When the news of Stuyvesant's persecutions reached Holland, the Amsterdam Chamber reproved him severely and wrote as follows: "The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, inoffensive and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed and the result has been that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps and you will be blest." This was a very effective reproof. From that time on, Stuyvesant never attempted to interfere with liberty of conscience and there was as great religious liberty in New Netherland as in the time of Minuit.

When Minuit was recalled he felt that he had been unjustly dealt with, so he offered his services to Sweden for the purpose of establishing a settlement on the Delaware in territory claimed by the Dutch. The Swedes established themselves there and, from time to time, there was trouble over this contested tract of land. Stuyvesant was ordered to drive off the Swedish trespassers who had built two forts, one on each side of the river about a dozen miles below Philadelphia. With seven ships and a force of seven hundred men, he suddenly appeared before the Swedish forts. Being completely taken by surprise and greatly outnumbered, the Swedes were compelled to surrender.

Stuyvesant was suddenly recalled from the Delaware to deal with the Indians who were threatening a general massacre of the Dutch. During his absence, a man named Hendrick Van Duyck shot and killed a squaw whom he caught stealing peaches in his orchard. It was a foolish, cruel and wicked act, wholly unwarranted, and it bore bitter fruit. The Indians were thoroughly aroused. They knew that Stuyvesant was absent with all the soldiers of the settlement. They came into the town, two thousand strong. The magistrates

held a parley with them and they agreed to go to Governor's Island, which they did, but after nightfall they returned, rushed up Broadway to the house of Van Duyck, shot him through the heart with an arrow, and killed with an axe a neighbor of his who came to his rescue. The burghers rallied and drove the Indians to their canoes. The savages then paddled over to the New Jersey shore, burned Hoboken and Pavonia, then went to Staten Island and devastated that. Within three days the Indians had killed one hundred settlers, taken one hundred and fifty prisoners and destroyed three hundred homes. This was the condition that confronted Stuyvesant on his return. He immediately made preparations to organize the strongest possible force for an attack upon the savages. They, seeing the extent of the preparation, became alarmed and sought peace. Stuyvesant, appreciating the provocation that the Indians had had, arranged a peace with them. They agreed to release all their prisoners and made very humble promises for the future.

Under the Dutch rule, settlements were made not only on Manhattan Island but on Long Island, over in New Jersey, in Westchester County, on the Delaware River, and along the Hudson. After Manhattan Island, one of the most important settlements was at Fort Orange within the Manor of Rensselaer. This was the source of much contention in the time of Stuyvesant. The Manor of Rensselaer was nearly an independent government—a sort of principality—and the people resented any exercise of authority on the part of Stuyvesant, and he equally resented any independence on the part of the people of that manor. This was the cause of much ill feeling and at times seemed likely to cause war on a small scale. On one or more occasions troops were sent to Fort Orange. One of the most remarkable men of this manor was Arendt Van Corlear (or Curler). He was very friendly to the Mohawks and much loved by them. The settlement of Schenectady was begun by him.

The English never recognized the claim of the Dutch to the territory they occupied in America. Governor Bradford

Tomb of Stuyvesant

of New England reminded them that they were trespassers and, in one way and another, the English put forth their claims at different times, but a favorable moment for enforcing them did not arise. There always seemed to be some good reason why England should not involve herself in a quarrel with Holland. But a time came when that objection no longer existed and King James gave his brother, the Duke of York, a grant covering Long Island and the adjacent islands, and the mainland from the west bank of the Connecticut River to the east shore of Delaware Bay.

The Duke allowed no time to be wasted in the matter of taking possession of his property. Four vessels were secretly fitted out for the expedition and four hundred and fifty soldiers were taken on board. Colonel Richard Nicolls was in command. Great pains were taken to conceal the object of the expedition, that Holland might not suspect the purpose and take measures to defend New Amsterdam. Word of the intended movement did reach Stuyvesant, but soon a denial came from the officials of the West India Company, so no steps were taken to strengthen the defenses, and when authentic news did reach New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant was at Fort Orange. He hastened back to New Amsterdam and called upon Rensselaerswyck for help, but was told that they could not spare a man on account of the danger they were in from the Indians. The Dutch on Long Island could give no aid as they had their wives and their property to defend.

In August, 1664, the English fleet entered the lower harbor and seized the blockhouse on Staten Island. Stuyvesant had long before recognized the weakness of his position and had often, but in vain, begged the company to furnish men and means to put the city in a position to defend itself against an attack; now it was too late. The weak fort mounted only twenty guns, and there was but little ammunition. There were only a few soldiers and the citizens could not be relied upon to add much to the force for defense. Many of the settlers were English and not a few of the Dutch

were dissatisfied with the narrow policy of the company, and the autocratic and overbearing manner of the director. All told, Stuyvesant could not muster more than four hundred men for defense and there was not more than six hundred pounds of powder to be had.

Nicolls summoned Stuyvesant to surrender. The latter refused and resorted to all possible expedients to secure delay. Nicolls sent a letter offering the most liberal terms. The letter was read to the Council and the burgomasters, and they wished it read to the people but Stuyvesant opposed this, fearing the effect of the easy terms offered. The burgomasters insisted and Stuyvesant, in a fit of rage, tore the letter in pieces. News of this reached the people and the demand for the letter grew so loud that even Stuyvesant dared not longer refuse, and a copy was made from the pieces of the torn document. Men, women and children went to Stuyvesant and begged him to submit. His answer was: "I would much rather be carried out dead." The next day a remonstrance was sent to the director, signed by eighty-five of the principal citizens, his own son among the number. The people refused to respond to a call for service and there were evidences of mutiny among the troops. It became apparent that if Stuyvesant were to fight, he would have to fight alone, so, sadly and reluctantly, he agreed upon the terms of surrender. The British took possession of the city on the 8th of September, 1664—a very important date in our history, marking the first step toward a union of all the colonies.

The change brought about by the surrender was at first a change in rulers only. Fort Amsterdam became Fort James, Fort Orange became Albany, New Netherland and New Amsterdam, in honor of the Duke of York, became New York. There was no change in laws nor in municipal officers. No rights were interfered with.

Stuyvesant was summoned to Holland to account for his surrender. After the completion of his business at Holland he returned to New York, the city he loved so well, and spent the remainder of his life there.

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V

THE MANOR OF RENSSELAERSWYCK

While the question of manorial grants was being considered by the States-General, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, one of the most influential of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, sent agents to New Netherland to investigate and report as to the best location for manors. They reported in favor of three sites—one on the Delaware known as "Swaendale," another in New Jersey called "Pavonia," and the third on the Hudson. Van Rensselaer selected the last mentioned one and gave it the name of Rensselaerswyck. This was the only one of all the manors that long endured; the others are remembered only as names. Among the other more noted manors were those of Stuyvesant, DeLancey, Lawrence, Morris, Van Courtlandt, Phillipse, Livingston, Beekman, Kip and Schuyler.

The Manor of Rensselaerswyck, when all the purchases had been completed, included all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer and a part of Columbia. The Van Rensselaer grant was the first one made and bore the date of November 19, 1629. The first purchase from the Indians was consummated on the 27th of July, 1630.

As will be shown, life on the manor was exceedingly primitive. For a long time the estate was managed by agents and even when the first Van Rensselaer came over he lived no better than a very ordinary farmer of this day. It was more than a century before any considerable part of the manor was occupied and cultivated. It was an immense estate in area but had very few inhabitants. Only a very few farms were cultivated during the early days of the manor. The patroon was very autocratic, so far as powers given were

concerned, but not at all so in the powers which he exercised.

The life, customs and manner of living on the manor of Rensselaer are of interest, as is the account of the petty quarrels between the manorial authorities and Stuyvesant. The West India Company established a fort and trading post at Albany at an earlier date than the granting of the estate of Van Rensselaer. The fort was known as Fort Orange, and was on the bank of the Hudson. The first of the colonists for the manor of Rensselaerswyck reached Fort Orange on the first of June, 1630, in the ship *Unity,* commanded by Captain Jan Brouer. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer never came to this country, the first member of the family to come over being Jan Baptiste Van Rensselaer, who came in 1651.

Roelef Jansen, and his wife, Annetje, later the owner of the property in New York that became the famous Trinity Church property, were among the emigrants sent over by Van Rensselaer. He was a farmer and received a yearly salary of $72. The first farm cleared on the manor was cultivated by Wolfort Gerritson, who received $8 a month and board. Farm hands generally received from $40 to $48 a year. Farms rented at from $120 to $200 a year, payable in beaver skins and wampum, or one-tenth of the grain raised and one-half of the increase in cattle, fat fowls and butter, the cutting of a certain amount of wood, and furnishing a given number of days' labor. The tenant never became the actual owner of the land, and if he died intestate the property reverted to the patroon.

Whatever grain and cattle the tenants had to spare must be offered for sale to the patroon, and if he did not care for it it might be sold elsewhere. All grain must be ground at the patroon's mill. All the disputes were to be settled at the manor court without right of appeal. In 1638 Van Rensselaer sent over Arendt Van Curler (the name is spelled in several ways), then eighteen years of age, to assist Jacob Albertsen Planck in the management of the estate. Four years later Van Curler was made commissary-general of Rensselaerswyck.

Rensselaerswyck was more prosperous than the other manors, partly because of its situation, partly through its peaceful relations with the Indians, and partly through the better management of Van Rensselaer, though the latter had so many troubles in the early years of the settlement as to nearly cause him to abandon his enterprise. There were many difficulties with the West India Company, which finally led to the issuing of a new charter of privileges and exemptions which provided that all patroons, free colonists and inhabitants of New Netherland should enjoy the privilege of selling articles brought from Holland upon the payment of a ten per cent. duty, and that they were also to pay the same duty on all furs shipped to Holland. The people were allowed to manufacture cotton and woolen goods, which had been forbidden up to this time. Appeals were allowed from the manorial courts to the director and council of New Netherland in cases in which the amount in dispute was as much as forty dollars. These changes took place in 1640.

In 1642, Dr. Johannes Megapolensis was sent to Rensselaerswyck as preacher for the settlement. He had a six years' contract with the patroon at a salary of $400 a year and an annual donation of sixty bushels of wheat and two firkins of butter. Megapolensis and his wife, with their four children, all under fifteen years of age, reached Fort Orange on the 12th of August. He was to have been provided with a house, but one not being ready for him, Van Curler arranged to find him a home until a house could be built for him. Not being able to finish a house by November, Van Curler bought one of Maryn Andriaensen Van Veere for about $140. There was no church ready and Megapolensis held services in his house for a time. Van Curler built a church for the dominie and wrote Van Rensselaer about it as follows: "It will be large enough for the first three or four years to preach in and can be used afterwards as a residence by the sexton or for a school." The building was thirty-four feet long and nineteen feet wide—a pretty small church but,

at that time, the entire population of the manor did not much exceed one hundred.

In 1643, the patroon in Holland sent word to Nicholas Coorn to fortify Beeren Island and to demand of each skipper passing up and down, except those of the West India Company, a toll of two dollars, and to see that every vessel coming up the river lowered its colors at the fort as a sign of respect to the patroon. On the 8th of September Coorn issued the following manifesto:

I, Nicolaes Coorn, commander of Rensselaers-Steyn, on behalf of the honorable Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, hereditary commander of the colonies on this North River of New Netherland, under the high jurisdiction of the High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Netherlands and of the Chartered West India Company, and as his vice-commander in his stead, give you notice that you shall not presume to abuse the said river to the injury of the right acquired by the aforesaid gentleman in his capacity as patroon of the colony of Rensselaerswyck, the first and oldest on this river.

Which right he obtained as early as the 19th of November, 1629, pursuant to the Freedoms and Exemptions granted by the Assembly of the XIX of the Chartered West India Company, by Article 5 of which it is promised that care shall always be taken that the first occupants (in this case the patroon) shall not be prejudiced in the rights which they obtained.

Which the aforesaid High and Mighty Lords the States-General was further confirmed and extended by letters patent of their High Mightinesses granted to him and his heirs, forever, on the third of February, 1641.

And whereas he declares that he is greatly injured:

First, in that you navigate this river without his knowledge and have come thus far against his will.

Secondly, in that you try to draw away and to allure to yourself and if possible to divert to his injury, the nations who for many years have been accustomed to trade either at Fort Orange with the *commis* of the company or privately with his *commis;* or to show to the said nations other and secret trading places, greatly to the injury of the West India Company and the patroon.

Thirdly, in that you spoil the fur trade (by driving up the price and bidding even against the *commis* of the Company at Fort Orange

as well as against the *commis* of the patroon) and that you who are satisfied as long as you get some booty out of it do not ask whether the trade is being so spoiled that the patroon may thereby become unable to meet the expenses of his colony or not, which is a great injury to him, the patroon.

Fourthly, in that you seek to debauch his own inhabitants and subjects and to incite them against their lord and master, furnishing them among other things with wine and spirits and selling to them at usurious and high prices, against his will; causing yourself to be paid in furs which they obtain by barter contrary to his orders and their own promise, or in wheat which they purloin from their lord, of which they have rendered no account, of which the tithes have not been lawfully paid and of which the patroon has not even received his third or half share according to the contracts and of which he has not waived the right of preëmption, obliging the patroon who provides his people with commodities at little or no advance in price (considering his expenses) to charge these on account while you go off with the (yes, with his) cash, whereby he is rendered unable properly to provide his people with everything because you so exhaust them and impoverish his colony, by which the patroon suffers great injury. Therefore, not being obliged to suffer any of these things from private individuals, he hereby causes notice to be served on you that you must entirely refrain therefrom and in the name aforesaid I declare, should you in defiance of law, contrary to this protest, presume to attempt to pass by force, that I have orders to prevent you from doing so. Permission is granted you, however, as expressed in the warning and more fully to be seen and read in the instructions given by the patroon to Pieter Wijnkoop, as supercargo, and to Arendt Van Curler, as commis-general, under the restrictions of the regulations contained therein, to trade with his commissen, but in no wise with the Indians or with his private subjects themselves. And in case you should use force, I am to declare to you that you will commit:

First, Crime against the High and Mighty Lords the States-General.

Secondly, Crime against the West India Company and their governor.

Thirdly, Crime against the patroon and his command within whose jurisdiction you are at present against his will, forcing us to necessary resistance.

Wherein I shall await what you will answer, do or not do, in order to govern myself accordingly, once more giving you full warning that you can have no grant (unless from the High and Mighty Lords the States-General themselves) which can deprive him of this his right and that in case of loss you will have to indemnify the patroon of everything.

Which foregoing instrument, drawn up by the aforesaid patroon and commander, he hereby ratifies by signing it with his own hand and sealing it with the seal of the patroon and the colony of Rensselaerswyck, this eighth of September, 1643, in Amsterdam.

Was signed:

KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER.

On the 1st of July, 1644, Govert Loockermans, skipper of the yacht *Good Hope*, sailing from Fort Orange to New Amsterdam, failed to salute the fort on Beeran Island as directed by the mandate. Nicolas Coorn shouted: "Lower your colors!" Loockermans replied: "For whom should I?" Coorn said: "For the staple-right of Rensselaerswyck." To this Loockermans replied: "I lower my colors for no one except the Prince of Orange and the Lords, my masters!" Coorn then fired upon the *Good Hope;* one shot ripped the mainsail and cut the rigging, another passed over the vessel, and the third passed through the colors of the Prince of Orange. When Loockermans arrived at New Amsterdam he lodged a complaint against Coorn and demanded reparation. The Council of New Netherland issued an order commanding Coorn to desist from such practices, but he did not heed it and continued to demand recognition of the rights of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck.

In 1648 Stuyvesant ordered that no building should be erected within cannon shot of Fort Orange. The authorities at Rensselaerswyck denied the right of Stuyvesant to enforce any such order and claimed that the land belonged to Van Rensselaer, and called attention to the fact that his trading house was, and for a long time had been, on the very edge of the moat of the fort. In reply to the claim that the enforcement of the order was necessary to the efficiency of the fort,

Van Slichtenhorst, Van Rensselaer's director, said: "I have been more than six months in the colony, and the nearest resident to the fort, and yet I have never been able to discover a single person carrying a sword, a musket, or a pike, nor have I seen or heard a drumbeat, except when the Director-General himself visited it, with his soldiers, in July." Stuyvesant then sent soldiers and sailors to Fort Orange with orders to demolish the house which Van Slichtenhorst was building near the fort. Carl Van Brugge, the commissary at Fort Orange, was ordered to arrest Van Slichtenhorst if he offered any resistance. The people of Rensselaerswyck became very much excited over this order and proposed to resist it and the Indians offered their assistance. Van Brugge wrote Stuyvesant that it would be useless to attempt to enforce the order as the residents of Rensselaerswyck, together with the Indians, greatly outnumbered any force that he could gather. Stuyvesant then recalled his men and ordered Van Slichtenhorst to appear before him. This he declined to do.

In 1650 a sum of money was raised by subscription and a schoolhouse built. Andreas Jansen was chosen the first schoolmaster. The next year, Jan Baptiste Van Rensselaer, the third son of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, came to America.

The differences between Stuyvesant and the authorities at Rensselaerswyck not yet being settled, and it being uncertain which party would be successful, Van Rensselaer attempted to strengthen his position by asking the colonists to take an oath of allegiance. On the 28th of November, forty-five of them subscribed to the following oath:

I promise and swear that I shall be true and faithful to the noble patroon and co-directors, or those who represent them here, and to the honorable director, commissioners and council, subjecting myself as a good and faithful inhabitant or burgher, without exciting opposition, tumult or noise, but on the contrary, as a loyal inhabitant to maintain and support, offensively and defensively, against everyone, the right and the jurisdiction of the colony. And with reverence and

fear of the Lord, and the uplifting of both the first fingers of the right hand, I say, so truly help me God Almighty.

On the 15th of July, 1652, Stuyvesant wrote Dyckman, who was in command of Fort Orange, not to allow anyone to build houses near the fort, or to remain in any house already built. He sent a proclamation to be read to the colonists of Rensselaerswyck and Dyckman, accompanied by an armed bodyguard, went to the Manor House, where the magistrates were in session, and asked the patroon to read the proclamation. Van Rensselaer was exceedingly angry that Dyckman should have presumed to come upon his land with armed men. He refused to read the proclamation and said: "It shall not be done so long as we have a drop of blood in our veins, nor until we receive orders from their High Mightinesses, and honored masters." Dyckman then ordered Van Rensselaer to have the patroon's bell rung. This being refused, Dyckman had the bell rung to call the people together. He then returned to the house of Van Rensselaer and ordered his deputy to read the proclamation, but Van Slichtenhorst snatched it from his hands and, in tearing it, the seals fell off. Dyckman told Van Slichtenhorst that Stuyvesant would make him suffer for his action, but the latter replied: "Go home, good friends, it is only the wind of a cannon ball fired six hundred paces off." Stuyvesant next ordered Dyckman to erect a number of posts six hundred paces from the walls of Fort Orange and place on each of them a copy of his proclamation. This was done and then the Rensselaerswyck magistrates ordered the high constable to remove the boundary posts.

On the 1st of April, 1653, Stuyvesant came to Fort Orange to straighten matters out. He sent a sergeant to lower the patroon's flag. As Van Slichtenhorst refused to lower the flag when called upon to do so, the soldiers entered the patroon's yard, lowered the flag, and discharged their firearms. Stuyvesant proclaimed that the space within the territory staked out by the planting of posts should be known as Bevers-

wyck. For this territory he instituted a court and named three justices. He had his proclamation posted at the Rensselaerswyck court house. Van Slichtenhorst tore it down and, in its place, posted his own maintaining the rights of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck. Stuyvesant, in turn, caused Van Slichtenhorst to be arrested and confined within the fort.

The Manor of Van Rensselaer completely surrounded the little settlement about the fort known as Beverswyck. In course of time the manor became practically an independent power. The West India Company, becoming jealous of it, urged Van Rensselaer to cede some of his rights. He not only refused to do this, but he exacted to the utmost all the feudal rights that had been granted him. The company then instructed Stuyvesant to curtail, as much as possible, the jurisdiction of Van Rensselaer, which was no doubt a very agreeable task for the autocratic governor. This brought into conflict two strong, masterful, self-willed men—Stuyvesant, the director of New Netherland, and Van Slichtenhorst, the manager of Rensselaerswyck. The governor sent a written order forbidding the erection, by the patroon, of a building of any kind within six hundred paces of the fort. To this Van Slichtenhorst paid no attention whatever. It was a queer condition of affairs—a government within a government and the lesser refusing obedience to the greater. Van Slichtenhorst, in turn, forbade the cutting of any firewood in the forest for the use of the fort. Stuyvesant replied with an order annulling that of Van Slichtenhorst and also annulling all grants of land within six hundred paces of the fort. Neither party regarded the proclamations or orders of the other. The first soldier who went into the forest was arrested. Stuyvesant responded by causing the arrest of Van Slichtenhorst and taking him to New Amsterdam, and confining him in the fort there. After an imprisonment of four months Van Slichtenhorst escaped and returned to Rensselaerswyck.

It was a long-drawn-out controversy which, in course of time, was referred to the States-General who favored the

patroon, saying that the soil on which Fort Orange stood was included in the purchase made by Van Rensselaer.

After the English came into the possession of New Netherland, Nicolls, the English governor, ordered the renewal of all land patents. Van Rensselaer claimed Albany as a part of his manor. Nicolls did not admit the claim and referred the matter to the Duke of York. The matter had not been settled when the Dutch recaptured New Netherland, and an order from the States-General allowed Van Rensselaer's claim, but before this could be enforced the province passed again into the hands of the English. The Duke of York then issued an order directing Governor Andros to deliver the government of the village to the patroon who was authorized to levy a tax of three beavers on each dwelling house for thirty years and, after that, such an amount as could be agreed upon by the inhabitants. Andros never executed the order, and his successor, Governor Dongan, said it was "all wrong for the second best town of the government to be in the hands of any particular man." Later Dongan visited the patroon and purchased a concession of his rights to the territory on which the city of Albany now stands, as well as all the territory sixteen miles to the west.

Life on the manor in the early days was exceedingly crude. The so-called manor house of the patroon was a very simple home, as the picture of the earliest manorial dwelling known shows. Later the manor grew in importance and the patroons gained in wealth. At one time there were several thousand inhabitants on the Manor of Rensselaerswyck. The patroon came to be a person of great influence.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, the fifth in the direct line, leased nearly a thousand farms of 160 acres each on long terms and at merely nominal rents. If the rent were not paid, the tenant was not disturbed, but after the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer some of the heirs attempted to collect arrears of rent and much trouble grew out of it. There was also trouble on the Livingston Manor and elsewhere, all of which finally culminated in what is known as the "anti-rent" war. Mat-

ters were finally adjusted through the adoption of a state constitution that abolished all feudal tenures.

Stephen Van Rensselaer was a man of sufficient note to call for brief mention. He was a graduate of Harvard College and became successively member of Assembly, of the state Senate, and member of the House of Representatives and, as such, gave the casting vote in the New York delegation that made John Quincy Adams president of the United States. Van Rensselaer was once lieutenant-governor of the state, and for several years was the leader of the Federal party in New York. In 1819 he was chosen member of the Board of Regents and later became the chancellor of that body. He instituted the geological surveys of the state and bore the expense. He established a scientific school at Troy that has since grown into the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He was one of the commissioners appointed in 1810 to examine and report as to the feasibility of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, and was one of the canal commissioners to the day of his death. He was in command of the state militia at the beginning of the War of 1812 and directed the unsuccessful attack upon Queenstown Heights.

In preparing the preceding chapter the following authorities were consulted and acknowledgments are hereby rendered for assistance received:

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VI

NEW YORK AS AN ENGLISH COLONY

For more than a hundred years New York was an English colony, having a governor appointed by the British Crown. Those governors, more than a score in number, were largely men who were unscrupulous adherents of the English Court, who sought and received appointment in the hope of bettering their financial condition at the expense of the people of the colony they were appointed to govern. There were, however, some notable exceptions, and among the English colonial governors of New York were some men of the finest type, Governor Dongan being a striking illustration of them. One writer, in speaking of the appointments, said that the colonies were "an hospital where the favorites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors." No attempt can here be made to give a history of the administration of each of the English governors of the colony of New York, or anything approaching a complete history of any one of them—merely a brief mention of some of the most notable men and the more important events of the time.

Richard Nicolls.—Richard Nicolls, the first English governor, was a happy choice. It was a time when a conquered people were to be conciliated. Nicolls was a genial and affable man, and spoke both French and Dutch as well as his own tongue, which was a great advantage. He was sincerely desirous that the people of the province should prosper and that they should be allowed every possible liberty. His administration was one that gave general satisfaction.

Francis Lovelace.—Nicolls was succeeded by Francis Lovelace in 1668. He established a monthly post between New

York and Boston, the first mail being sent to Boston on the 1st of January, 1673. This was the germ of our present postal system and an event of importance. It was during the administration of Lovelace that the Dutch recaptured New Netherland and held the colony a little over a year when, as the result of a treaty, it was restored to England.

Edmund Andros.—After the restoration, Edmund Andros was sent over as governor. He was a man of unblemished character, possessed talent, was energetic and zealous and, like Nicolls, had the advantage of being able to speak both Dutch and French. Perhaps the most important event of his administration, so far as the fortunes of the colony were concerned, was that of giving the inhabitants of the city of New York the sole right to bolt and export flour, that business being forbidden in all other parts of the colony. This monopoly lasted from 1678 to 1694 and, during those sixteen years, the population and the wealth of the city nearly trebled.

Thomas Dongan.—In 1682 Andros was followed in the governorship by Thomas Dongan, possibly the best and ablest of all the royal governors. He was a younger son of an Irish baronet, a man of integrity, enterprising and active. He was a Catholic, but was tolerant of other religions. When he reached New York on the 25th of August, 1683, he found a city of less than four thousand inhabitants. A number of languages were spoken, but the Dutch largely predominated. In 1689 there were two hundred families of French Huguenots in the city, but in the preceding six years only twenty families had come from Great Britain.

Dongan was directed to form a council of not more than ten members, who were each to have a vote and might take part in the debates on all public affairs. He was told that Frederic Philipse and Stephen Van Courtlandt must be among the ten selected. The colonists had long demanded a legislative assembly which each successive governor, acting in accordance with his instructions from the Duke of York, had denied. Such an assembly had long been a conceded right among English people and, after it had been denied the colon-

ists again and again, Huntington, Jamaica and some other Long Island towns, where the population was largely English, refused to pay taxes any longer without representation. They sent a petition to the Duke declaring that government without representation was an intolerable burden and called attention to the freer and more flourishing colonies on either side of them. They petitioned for a government by a governor, a council and an assembly, the latter to be elected by the freeholders of the colony. When this petition reached the Duke, he was feeling discouraged because of a failure to collect taxes and said to William Penn, his close friend, who was with him at the time, that he was seriously considering the sale of the colony. "Sell New York!" said Penn. "Don't think of such a thing. Just give it self-government and there will be no more trouble." The Duke, being in the right mood, took Penn's advice and Dongan was instructed accordingly.

Dongan promptly summoned a provincial assembly, which met at Fort James in October, 1683. The assembly consisted of the governor, ten councillors of his choosing, and eighteen representatives elected by the freeholders of the colony. A large majority of the assembly was Dutch and this fact doubtless largely influenced the action taken as taxation, by consent only, had been the rule in Holland for nearly two centuries. The first important act of the assembly was to frame a Charter of Liberties. In that charter was first used, in any American document, the term "the people." Among the provisions of this Charter of Liberties was one putting the supreme legislative power "forever in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly;" and other clauses stipulated "that every freeholder and freeman might vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by the judgment of his peers; that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretense whatever but by the consent of the assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that

no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in matters of religion."

This was the longest step toward self-government that had at that time been taken by any of the colonies. The Charter of Liberties was sent to the Duke for his approval. He signed it, but the death of Charles made the Duke the King of England, and New York a royal province. The King did not see matters as he had done when a duke, so his approval of the Charter of Liberties was never forwarded to the colony though New York was governed under its provisions for several years.

One of the difficult tasks that confronted Dongan was the maintaining of friendly relations with the Iroquois, and dealing with the French in Canada. He had a long but amicable correspondence with De la Barre, the governor of Canada, over Indian affairs and boundaries. When De la Barre was succeeded by Denonville, the correspondence was much more extensive, not wholly friendly, and sometimes extremely bitter.

The assembly that met at Fort James divided the province into twelve counties: Suffolk, Kings, Queens, Richmond, New York, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Dutchess, Westchester, Duke's and Cornwall. The last named consisted of Pemaquid and the adjacent islands, now a part of Maine. Duke's was made up of the islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Island and No Man's Land.

The assembly established four courts—town courts for the trial of small cases to be held each month; county courts or county sessions to be held quarterly or half yearly; general court of Oyer and Terminer with original and appellate jurisdiction, to sit twice every year in each county, and a court of chancery to be the supreme court of the province, composed of the governor and his council, but the governor was given power to depute a chancellor in his stead. The assembly also provided for the naturalization of foreigners.

In September, 1683, the Cayugas conveyed the Susque-

hanna River and the "land situate thereupon" to "the Governor-General, or those who now represent him." Not long after this the Mohawks agreed to the transaction. A month later Dongan met with the Mohawks and directed them not to deal any more with the French, nor to allow any Frenchmen, except the Jesuits, to live with them. To this they agreed and Dongan declared to them that all the territory "on this side of the Lake of Canada belongs to the government of New York, and the governor desires that they all may be acquainted with it."

In 1686 a Treaty of Neutrality between the French and the English was signed at Whitehall, that was greatly to the detriment of New York, so far as Indian affairs were concerned. It most effectually tied the hands of Dongan. It was agreed that there should be peace in America between the French and the English, even if they should be at war with each other in Europe. It also provided that in case either party in America should be at war with the "wild Indians" the other should not assist them. This left Denonville free to attack the Senecas as he had planned to do, but prevented Dongan from coming to their relief as he had agreed.

The French King approved the proposed expedition against the Iroquois and directed that all captives taken be sent to France to "serve in the galleys." Eight hundred French regulars were sent to aid Denonville. Some Iroquois chiefs, who had been invited to come to Canada for a conference, were made prisoners and, with others to the number of fifty, sent to serve in the galleys as the French King had directed. This act of treachery was not exceeded by any deed the savages were ever guilty of. It practically destroyed the influence of the French Jesuits with the Iroquois. Denonville's expedition against the Senecas resulted in the destruction of their crops and villages, but did not break their power and did make them more bitter enemies. Dongan protested against this invasion of British territory. A year later King James directed Dongan to protect the Five Nations as British

subjects, to build necessary forts, and call on the neighboring English colonies for assistance.

King James became satisfied that the reason the French had been more successful than the English in dealing with the Indians was due to the fact that the former were united; therefore, for this and other reasons, he united New York, New Jersey and New England into one province, and made Sir Edmund Andros governor. Though Dongan was recalled, his Indian policy was adhered to. This plan of uniting several colonies under one governor was short-lived. Within a year King James was a fugitive. William and Mary ruled in Great Britain and Andros was confined in a Boston jail.

The Leisler Régime.—There seems to be a more or less general belief that Jacob Leisler was a man of little ability and less education. "An illiterate German" he is sometimes called. Before entering upon a study of his career let us learn something of the man. By birth he was a German, by inheritance a Frenchman, and a Dutchman by adoption. His father was a French clergyman who was exiled and sought a home in Frankfort where his son was born. Jacob Leisler was not an uneducated man. He wrote and spoke German, French and Dutch fluently, but English very poorly, which last fact, no doubt, gave rise to the idea that he was uneducated. He had been a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company but he settled in New Amsterdam, married a wealthy wife, entered into business and prospered. He was a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church and was an intense Protestant, having learned in childhood what persecution meant. This cannot be the description of an "illiterate" man, or of one of mediocre ability.

King James abdicated the English throne on the 22d of December, 1668, and was succeeded by William and Mary. When this news reached America, Governor Andros was in prison at Boston. Something like chaos followed. Some of the people held that Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson and the Council were possessed of governmental powers. Others, and probably a majority of those living in the province of New

York, held that the abdication of the King did away with the whole existing machinery of government. The controversy grew to be very acrimonious.

The story of Leisler is full of interest and the result of his efforts is most pathetic. The abdication of King James, and the accession of William and Mary, led France to declare war against England and Holland. That affected the colonies and stirred the people greatly. It was largely a religious war, Catholics against Protestants. France, a great Catholic power, had as Governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, the greatest governor France had ever sent to this country. All the colonies were aroused and full of fear. Nowhere was there greater interest than in New York. The Dutch and the French Huguenots, Protestants who had suffered greatly at the hands of Catholic France and Spain, were aroused, excited, and fearful. Nicholson was not the man to cope with the situation. Sluggish, irresolute, reluctant to assume responsibility and unable to get word from Andros, who was in prison at Boston, it was certain that he would soon abandon his task. Then he labored under special difficulties as King James had favored the Catholics and the people were very suspicious of all the appointees of the exiled king on that account. Nicholson, at one time, had commanded a regiment of troops made up of Catholics and many believed he was a "Papist" in disguise, seeking to restore King James to power.

Nicholson undertook to keep all the money collected at revenue and gave orders that after May-day all receipts from customs should be used for the erection of new fortifications. Many thought this a scheme for using the public moneys against the people and to aid the exiled king. All kinds of wild stories were afloat and many of them were believed. Leisler was one of the leading merchants of the city and the senior captain of the train-bands that made up the militia. He had been a resident of the city for thirty years and was very active in the religious and the social life of the town. His rugged honesty and frank and generous attitude toward everyone made him greatly loved by the common people.

There was great rejoicing when he refused to pay duty on a cargo of wine received from Europe on the ground that Matthew Plowman, the collector of the port, was a Roman Catholic and that since the flight of King James no duly authorized government had existed in New York. Leisler's hatred of the Catholics was not unnatural, considering his father's very severe treatment.

Leisler was the natural leader of the people at this time. His political and religious leanings, his resolute and energetic character, all tended to that end. There was a rumor that a French fleet was about to attack the town and that Nicholson had been in consultation with agents of Louis XIV, who were hiding on Staten Island. The crisis came on the 30th of May when Nicholson quarreled with one of the officers of the train-bands, who had been directed to take turns in guarding Fort James. "Who commands this fort, you or I?" he asked angrily, and added, "I would rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of such fellows as you." This led to a rumor that Nicholson had threatened to burn the town. The next morning a crowd of citizens, accompanied by the five train-bands, appeared at the house of Leisler and induced him to lead a movement for the capture of the fort, which was taken without any resistance being offered. Leisler issued a manifesto declaring that he held the fort in the interest of William and Mary, and that he would continue to do so until the arrival of a person from Great Britain authorized by the home government to administer the affairs of the province.

The people were now divided into two factions—the party supporting Leisler, made up chiefly of farmers, small shopkeepers, sailors, shipwrights and the artisans of the town; and the aristocratic party, made up chiefly of those who had held office under King James, and their followers. The leaders of the Leisler party met and appointed a Committee of Safety of ten members, made up of English, Dutch and Huguenot citizens. This committee appointed Leisler captain of the fort and invested him with the power of a com-

mander-in-chief, until orders should arrive from the new sovereigns. It was agreed that the militia should guard the custom house, and that the five train-bands should, in turn, hold the fort for William and Mary.

In the meantime Nicholson and his friends were not idle. Three members of the governor's council: Stephanus Van Courtlandt, the mayor of the city; Nicholas Bayard, colonel of the train-bands, and Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province, were then in the city. Had they shown any disposition to coöperate with the Committee of Safety, it is probable that all conflict would have been avoided but, instead of taking that position, they resolved to resist the committee to the utmost of their power. Their first movement was an effort to remove the public money from the fort to the house of Philipse, but Leisler refused to surrender it on their order. The Committee of Safety placed a guard at the custom house and appointed a collector, who sent armed men on board all the vessels in the port. The train-bands gathered on Bowling Green and refused to disperse at the command of Bayard, their colonel. One of the captains, at the head of his company, waited on Nicholson and the councillors in the City Hall and demanded the keys of the fort. Resistance being useless, the keys were surrendered. Soon after this Nicholson sailed for England, leaving Bayard, Van Courtlandt and Philipse, the only representatives of the Andros government, in the colony.

The government was now wholly in the hands of Leisler and his followers. Before the end of June he had received a message from the magistrates of Massachusetts applauding his conduct. About the same time the General Court of Connecticut sent deputies to congratulate him on his success and promised him aid in case he should need it. The conduct of Leisler was generally upheld throughout the colony and in the sister colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. When the news came of the proclamation of the new sovereigns in England, Leisler proclaimed them also and gave orders that Fort James should be rechristened Fort William, and sent a letter

to the King explaining his acts and begging that they be sanctioned and that orders be sent for the government of the province. It is clear, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that up to this time there was not in the mind of Leisler a thought of anything but the most perfect loyalty to his King. All available evidence goes to show that Leisler was loyal, and meant to serve his King faithfully.

It was not an easy matter to determine what should have been done under the existing conditions. It was clear that no course could be taken that would give universal satisfaction. Leisler invited the people of the several towns and counties to choose delegates to a convention to be held at Fort James on the 25th of June, 1689, for the purpose of taking into consideration the existing condition of affairs and determining what was best to be done. Ulster, Albany and Suffolk counties, and most of the towns of Queens, refused to send delegates. The other towns and counties of the province responded. Twelve delegates met at Fort James but, after the first session, two of them withdrew. The others formed themselves into a Committee of Safety and signed a commission appointing Leisler "Captain of the fort at New York until orders shall be received from their majesties." Under this authority Leisler at once assumed the powers of government.

Early in December two dispatches came from England—one from the Privy Council and the other from the King. They were addressed to "Our Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Province of New York, and in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace, and administering the laws!" Nicholson having left the colony, the messenger was in some doubt as to whom he should deliver his message. Bayard and the other councillors sought to get possession of it. Leisler claimed it on the ground that the people had refused to recognize Bayard and his associates. There was a heated dispute and much discussion, but the messenger finally delivered the letters to Leisler, thus showing that a disinterested person believed him

to be possessed of rightful authority. The letter from the Privy Council said: "We do hereby authorize and empower you to take upon you the government of the said province, calling to your assistance in the administration thereof the principal freeholders and inhabitants of the same, or so many of them as you shall think fit." Nicholson having fled, and this letter being delivered to him by the King's messenger, Leisler thought—and why should he not have done so—that he had ample authority to act.

He appointed a council of eight men, representing the English, French and Dutch elements of the province. They were Peter De la Noy, a prominent Huguenot; Dr. Samuel Staats, a Dutchman, afterward a councillor under the Earl of Bellomont and later under Governor Hunter; Henry Jansen, a relative of Anneke Jans; Johannes Vermilye, an original patentee from Harlem and an elder in the church; Dr. Gerardus Beekman, an elder in the church and acting governor after the death of Lovelace; and William Lawrence, afterward councillor under the Earl of Bellomont. Surely these should be regarded as men of character and standing in the little community, yet these men and Leisler have been denounced as belonging to the "rabble."

Writs of election for members of assembly were issued. Troubles now began to thicken about Leisler. His principal opponents were Nicholas Bayard, Stephanus Van Courtlandt, Frederick Philipse, William Nicolls, Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston. Leisler's enemies planned a street riot from which he narrowly escaped with his life. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Bayard, Van Courtlandt, and others supposed to have been the fomenters of the riot. Van Courtlandt escaped but Bayard and Nicolls were arrested and thrown into prison.

Leisler sent his son-in-law, Jacob Milbourne, a young Englishman, to Albany to induce the people there to accept his government but, as he was opposed by Schuyler and Livingston, both men of great ability and large influence, his mission was a failure. A few weeks later came the invasion of the

French and Indians, and capture and destruction of Schenectady, the murder of its inhabitants, all of which would most likely have been prevented had the people in Albany been in harmonious relations with the existing authorities. Notwithstanding the rebuff he had received, on receipt of news of the French attack, Leisler immediately sent Milbourne to the rescue with a party of soldiers. This time Fort Orange was turned over to him.

Early in the spring of 1690, Leisler summoned a congress of the northern colonies to meet in New York on the first day of May. This congress decided on an invasion of Canada, the expense to be borne by New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maryland. They were to raise eight hundred men and the Iroquois agreed to furnish eighteen hundred warriors. One expedition, under the command of Sir William Phipps, was to go by water and besiege Quebec. Another, under the command of Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, was to march on to Montreal by the way of Albany. Both expeditions were failures.

Henry Sloughter.—In the meantime Leisler's enemies in England, especially Nicholson, were not idle. They busied themselves in poisoning the mind of the King against Leisler, which was not a very difficult task, as Leisler wrote such imperfect English that it was easy to misinterpret him. The King was told that Leisler was actuated solely by hatred of the Church of England. In the meantime, Colonel Henry Sloughter was appointed governor of the province and in December, 1690, with several ships and a considerable body of troops, he set sail for America. His own ship suffered from bad weather, was driven out of its course and put in to Bermuda for repairs.

Major Richard Ingoldsby, one of Sloughter's subordinates, reached New York nearly three months in advance of his chief. He had a small force of soldiers with him and demanded the fort for their accommodation, doing this on the advice of Philipse, Van Courtlandt and others, all enemies of Leisler. When Leisler asked to see orders either from the

King or from Sloughter, Ingoldsby curtly responded: "Possession of His Majesty's fort is what I demand." Ingoldsby had not a shadow of authority to perform any military or civil act in New York and Leisler believed, no doubt rightly, that to give Ingoldsby possession of the fort would result in turning over all civil authority to his enemies. As he could not consistently do this, he ordered the troops to be quartered in the city hall. From this time till the coming of Sloughter there was great excitement, with threats of war, but no bloodshed.

Sloughter arrived on the 19th of March, 1691. History has written his character and there is no dissenting opinion—"weak, avaricious, immoral and notoriously intemperate." He went at once to the City Hall, where he read aloud his commission and took the oath of office. Immediately upon his arrival, Sloughter was met by Van Courtlandt and his associates, and gave a ready ear to their statements. Although he had been ordered by the King to "examine carefully and impartially into the state of affairs in New York, and to render a true and faithful account thereof," he at once became an extreme partisan as might have been expected of "a profligate, needy and narrow-minded adventurer."

Although it was nearly midnight when Sloughter took the oath of office, Ingoldsby was sent at once to demand the immediate surrender of the fort. Leisler refused to give it up without a written order from Sloughter, but he sent Milbourne to see the Governor and make explanations. Sloughter not only would not listen to him but immediately ordered him put in irons, though the only offense that could be charged against him was the carrying of a message from Leisler. The next morning Leisler sent a letter to Sloughter turning the fort over to him. When Nicholson took possession, he released Bayard and Nicolls from their cells in the guardhouse and Leisler was thrown into one of the cells they vacated.

Sloughter appointed as members of his council the bitterest enemies of Leisler—among them Philipse, Bayard and

Nicolls. Before a court presided over and made up solely of men bitterly hostile to them, Leisler, Milbourne and six members of the council were brought to trial on a charge of treason and murder. They refused to plead until the court decided whether or not the King's letter to Nicholson, which was delivered to Leisler, gave the latter authority to assume the government of the colony. The court refused to pass upon this question but referred it to the Governor and his council—all long personal and political enemies of Leisler. The decision, of course, was against him. The men who rendered the decision were sitting upon what was virtually their own case. Leisler and his associates refused to plead and offered no defense. They were convicted and condemned to death. Sloughter was reluctant to sign the death warrants of these men, preferring to refer the matter to the home government, but his associates would be satisfied with nothing less than the death of Leisler and Milbourne. It is claimed that Sloughter's signature was obtained at a banquet when he was so deeply under the influence of wine as not to appreciate what he was doing. The judicial murder of Leisler and Milbourne, for it was nothing else, was the beginning of a bitter political and social feud, between the supporters and antagonists of Leisler, that continued through several administrations. Leisler and Milbourne were the only men who were ever executed for a political crime within the state of New York. A dispassionate consideration of the actions of Leisler and his friends when in power, and its comparison with the course pursued by his enemies when they gained control, is not to the credit of the latter. The fact that some years later, when passion had had time to subside, and sober reason had its sway, Parliament reversed the attainder for treason and restored Leisler's property to his heirs, is pretty good evidence that he had been most unjustly dealt with.

Aside from the execution of Leisler and Milbourne, the most important event of Sloughter's administration was the election of an assembly that, influenced by the intense anti-Catholic feeling incident to the war between William of

Orange and Louis XIV, passed an act forbidding "Romish forms of worship" in the colony of New York. Sloughter died very suddenly and there were suspicions that he was poisoned, but it is more probable that he died of delirium tremens.

Benjamin Fletcher.—Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the successor of Sloughter, arrived in New York in August, 1692. He was a man of ability, desirous of the prosperity of the colony, vigorous, prompt and alert, but fond of social pleasures and ostentatious show and not unmindful of feathering his own nest as opportunities offered. He was a devout churchman, had prayers in his house twice each day, and furthered the establishment of churches throughout the colony. Trinity Church was founded during his administration, and he secured for it a grant of land that made the corporation exceedingly rich. There was more or less contention in regard to the grant during several administrations before the matter was secured beyond recall.

Fletcher was beset with difficulties from the start. The Dutch were not kindly disposed toward their English conquerors; the great mass of the people was almost as bitter against the Church of England as toward that of Rome; the Leisler affair had left a divided people, each faction exceedingly bitter toward the other. As Fletcher himself expressed it, he was a ruler over a "divided, contentious and impoverished people." Frontenac menaced the northern border. In order to the more effectually contend with the French, through unanimity of action, Fletcher had been given authority over the militia of Connecticut, Rhode Island and the Jerseys, but these colonies regarded this as a violation of their charter rights and would not submit or furnish troops or ammunition for carrying on a war against Canada.

Take it altogether, Fletcher did not have an easy path. He had been appointed chiefly because it was believed that his successful military experience and his energy would enable him to bring peace to the colony that had been torn by rival factions. He was set an impossible task. He must

necessarily, through the appointment of his council and in other ways, side with one faction or the other. He chose to side with the opponents of Leisler, and it seemed that he had chosen the stronger faction as the new assembly was made up almost wholly of that party. Fletcher, who did nothing by halves, opposed the Leislerites in all possible ways and soon there were but few of them to be found in any official position.

About this time Leisler's son, and some others, went to England and began a most persistent and energetic campaign for the restoration of the Leisler estate and the reversal of the act of attainder. Because of the attitude he had taken, they were driven to oppose Fletcher. They accused him of making wholesale grants of the public lands to churches and to ministers for the purpose of building up the Church of England, and to other individuals to create a few great estates cultivated by tenants, and all this to the detriment of the settler of small means. He was also charged with interfering with the elections for assemblymen, for refusing to account for public moneys received, for receiving bribes, for prostituting his office for private gain, and for collusion with pirates. While these charges may have been true, it should not be forgotten that other governors had made great land grants and had enriched themselves at the public expense, without arousing much animosity on the part of anyone. It is fair to suppose that the Leislerites were back of the charges made and that they were not urged wholly on account of the public virtue of those who made them. However that may be, there was ample ground for much criticism of Fletcher's administration.

The piracy which flourished during Fletcher's administration, and before and after as well, was the natural outcome of the system of privateering which was then general the world over and which was, at best, a sort of restricted piracy. Many of the vessels were at first fitted out as privateers and afterwards entered upon a career of piracy because the gains were larger and more easily made. There were many who passed for honest men in those days who, in one

way and another, profited by piracy without taking any direct part in it. Some furnished money to equip vessels and received a portion of the proceeds of captures made; others bought goods of the pirates and sold them at a great advance on the cost. New York was a favorite market place of the pirates and many of the leading merchants of that city winked at the trade and profited by it. In course of time this trade became so open and so flagrant that the authorities felt that it must be stopped at all hazards.

Captain Kidd.—Robert Livingston and the Earl of Bellomont proposed to fit out a vessel against the pirates as a private enterprise, but under the authority of Great Britain, expecting great profits, this being a bit of work only a grade above piracy. Livingston suggested Captain William Kidd, a shipmaster of New York, as a proper person to command such a venture. He was the son of a Scotch Presbyterian minister, a man of some wealth, and a citizen of good standing. On being consulted he was found willing to undertake the enterprise, but wanted one of the King's ships mounting thirty guns and carrying fifty men.

The King took the matter into consideration and consulted with five of the highest lords of the realm, and it was decided to furnish the ship and crew that Kidd asked for in return for a certain share of the plunder that he might secure. King William became a partner in this enterprise and a prospective sharer in its profits. Just what happened will probably never be accurately known. That Kidd, failing to capture the pirates, turned pirate himself is certain, and it is certain that he was executed for piracy, but it is not certain that his crew did not force him into piracy, nor is it certain that he was fairly dealt with. The scandal connected with the matter and the prominence of the men mixed up with it, made it necessary that someone should suffer. This led to the execution of Kidd and the recall of Fletcher, though there may have been ample reason for the action taken in each case other than the need of sacrificing someone to save the credit of those in a higher station.

The Earl of Bellomont.—The Earl of Bellomont was appointed governor of New York in 1695, but did not receive his commission till 1697. No man of finer character ever held the office of royal governor of New York. He was a man of great earnestness and intense application. A thorough study of the Indian affairs, the land grants, piracy, fortifications, accounts, a very extensive correspondence and the habit of mastering all the details of every subject he concerned himself with, made his work very laborious, and he really broke down under it. While he was a man of great ability and the highest integrity, he was hasty, impulsive, lacked judicial temperament, and often failed to exercise good judgment. He came here having prejudged many things. He declared that the execution of Leisler and Milbourne was a "judicial murder." He took it for granted that Fletcher had been thoroughly dishonest in disposing of the public lands, and that he protected pirates for financial considerations. He was disposed to believe that great wealth was incompatible with perfect honesty. The apparent relations of many of the men of wealth in the colony with noted pirates intensified this feeling. Bellomont came to this country as much prejudiced in favor of the Leislerites as Fletcher had been against them. He was strongly opposed to the establishment of great landed estates and utterly out of sympathy with the idea of great manors and their feudal privileges. He recommended to the assembly the passage of an act forbidding anyone in the colony to own more than a thousand acres of land, but was not successful in securing such action.

The land-grabbing under Fletcher was a great scandal. Dominie Dellius, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Albany, personally secured a grant in Washington County seventy miles long and twelve miles in length. This tract extended into what is now the state of Vermont. Nicholas Bayard obtained a grant of about thirty miles in length situated on each side of the Schoharie Creek. Colonel Henry Beekman, of Kingston, was given a grant in Dutchess County which was sixteen miles square and a tract on the Hudson

twenty miles long and eight miles wide. Captain John Evans was granted a tract forty miles long and twenty miles wide, which included southern Ulster and parts of Orange and Rockland counties. Colonel William Smith secured about fifty square miles on Long Island, all the land on the Island not covered by previous grants. William Pinhorne, Colonel Peter Schuyler, Dominie Dellius and two others were given fifty square miles in the Mohawk Valley. These grants, with eight or nine others, parcelled out the greater part of the province not before taken.

Bellomont never lost an opportunity to attack a land grant in which there was any suspicion of fraud. All the men and interests affected by the annulment of grants were represented at London, and not only sought to prevent the loss of their great estates, many of which were probably dishonestly obtained, but they also sought to secure the recall of Bellomont. It is only justice to say that Colonel Schuyler surrendered his claim to the Mohawk patent as soon as there arose any suspicion that there had been fraud connected with it. It was claimed, and there is some reason to believe the claim to be true, that Fletcher received handsome presents when he made the grants under consideration. Among those who went to England to bolster up questionable claims was Dominie Dellius, who hoped to secure the aid of the Classis of Amsterdam. Mr. Vesey, in the interest of Trinity Church, wrote to the Bishop of London hoping for his assistance. While the efforts of these men delayed action, they did not prevent the ultimate extinction of grants known to have been obtained through fraud.

Bellomont saw that the estates of Leisler and Milbourne were restored to their heirs. He made several of the Leislerian leaders members of his council and, through his influence, the government became Leislerian in all its branches. He was as bitterly hated by the aristocratic party as Fletcher had been by the Leislerites.

When Kidd turned pirate and it became known that Bellomont had had an interest in the original venture, the latter's

enemies made much of it and intimated that, while he publicly opposed piracy, privately he was interested in it. Though wholly untrue, it hurt Bellomont keenly. It was in part through his efforts that piracy received a blow from which it never recovered. Bellomont died after a reign of about three years. He was buried in the church in the fort and in 1790 his remains were removed to St. Paul's churchyard, where they still lie. He was loved and trusted by the common people and his death was keenly felt by them.

Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury.—Cornbury was a nephew of King James, but this fact did not prevent his becoming a traitor when it seemed that James would have to leave the country. This act of treachery was characteristic of the man. King William appointed him governor of the province of New York in September, 1701, but if there were anything to recommend him for the post other than his treachery to his uncle, one is at loss to imagine what it may have been. His first official act as governor was the appointment of Daniel Homan as secretary of the province—a man of low tastes, vulgar habits and utter lack of principle. He had been Fletcher's private secretary and had had an active part in all the scandalous land grants of that administration, had been no less active in granting protection to pirates, and had been guilty of perjury on numerous occasions. This appointment was so scandalous that Cornbury was severely reprimanded for making it. He claimed that he was ignorant of the character of the man when he made the appointment and promised to dismiss him, but evidently he was the kind of man that Cornbury wished as, on one pretext and another, he kept him to the end of his administration.

Cornbury's arrival in New York was the signal for another change in the swing of the Leislerian pendulum. Bayard, who had been tried for treason during the time of Nanfan, convicted and, according to the terrible law of that time, sentenced to "be hanged, drawn and quartered," was reprieved on confession of his guilt "until His Majesty's pleasure could be known." Cornbury reversed all the pro-

ceedings against Bayard and set him free. He removed all the members of the council who belonged to the Leislerian party. If he had wished to create, on the part of the colonists, the most bitter feeling possible against him and the home government, he could hardly have taken a course better calculated to bring that about. He was almost continually at odds with the assembly which refused to vote salaries for the officers of the Crown, except year by year, as a part of the annual supplies. From this time till the Revolution, there was almost continual strife between the governor and the assembly over the question of raising and disbursing funds. Cornbury was humbled by being compelled to allow the assembly to elect a treasurer for the receipt and disbursement of all moneys appropriated for particular uses. This was insisted upon by the assembly, in the first place because of the dishonesty of Cornbury, but afterward as a matter of principle. The struggle over matters of revenue and the manner of raising and disbursing funds, was an important step toward the Revolution. In 1707 the New York assembly passed a series of resolutions among which were the following:

Resolved, That it is, and always has been, the unquestionable right of every man in this colony that he hath a perfect and entire property in his goods and estates.

Resolved, That the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her Majesty's subjects in this colony under any pretense or color whatsoever, without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property.

This was half a century earlier than the Boston speech of James Otis or the Richmond oration of Patrick Henry. From this time on, with few exceptions, the New York assembly granted only annual appropriations, and the money appropriated was collected by their own treasurer, and not by an appointee of the Crown, and it was also disbursed under their own direction. This was a matter of endless controversy between the assembly and the royal governors, but nothing

could swerve the assembly from its stand of "no taxation without consent," an idea that had its birth in the Netherlands in 1477, not in England nor in New England at a later day. The fact that New York took this stand earlier than her sister colonies may very likely have been due to the large number of Dutch among her people and in her assembly.

Cornbury was finally removed, his conduct being such that the home government could not sustain him longer. He had united all classes in opposition to him. Fiske says of him: "He was steeped in debauchery and never paid his debts." While he was governor his creditors dared not to be too pressing, but as soon as he was removed from office and powerless to harm anyone, they beset him so vigorously that he was soon lodged in jail. Here he remained till the next year when the death of his father made him Earl of Clarendon and gave him money with which he paid his debts, and returned to England leaving a very odious reputation behind him.

Robert Hunter.—Robert Hunter was appointed governor in 1710. He was a cultured, genial and literary man, a personal friend of Addison, Swift and Steele. He had had considerable military experience. He was for a long time a prisoner at Paris and was finally exchanged for the Bishop of Quebec. Hunter was a man of the strictest integrity, the highest morality, and was one of the ablest of all the colonial governors of New York. But in spite of his ability and high character, he was at once at loggerheads with the assembly, not because of what he was or was not but because of the record of his predecessors. He made the utmost effort to govern the colony for its best interests, but was suspected of ignoble motives and ill treated. In writing to his friend, Dean Swift, he said: "The truth is I am used like a dog after having done all that is in the power of a man to deserve better treatment"; and on another occasion he wrote: "I have spent my time thus far here in such torment and vexation that nothing hereafter in life can ever make amends for it."

The assembly had lost faith in royal governors and a growing feeling of independence led it to be disposed to place some

restraints upon their prerogatives. Revenues were provided, subject to such conditions that the instructions of the governor would not permit him to approve. Hunter was provoked almost beyond endurance and finally dissolved the assembly. The new body, returned in 1714, contained some new members, but the majority held the same views as did the preceding assembly, and the same speaker, William Nicolls, was chosen. At the very outset, Hunter declared that he would sanction no legislation until provision had been made for the government. The assembly provided a revenue for one year only instead of providing for a permanent revenue for the necessary expenses of government, as Hunter desired.

The death of Queen Anne operated to dissolve the assembly again. The new body chosen in the spring of 1715 was more favorable to Hunter than those that had preceded it. One of the members, Lewis Morris of Westchester, who had known Hunter before he came to this country, gave the governor most vigorous support, and one result was the provision of a revenue for five years. Later, Morris was appointed chief justice of the colony and the opposition declared it an unfit appointment—a "put-up job"—but in time everyone conceded that Morris made an upright and exceedingly able judge.

Hunter began his administration under the most unfavorable circumstances and met with bitter opposition, but at the close of his ten years of service he had won the respect and love of nearly everyone. No royal governor ever left New York with more tokens of goodwill. In his closing words to the assembly, he said: "I assure you that whilst I live, I shall be watchful and industrious to promote the interest and welfare of this country, of which I think I am under the strongest obligations for the future to account myself a countryman. I look with pleasure upon the present quiet and prosperous state of the people here, whilst I remember the condition in which I found them upon my arrival. As the very name of party or faction seems to be forgotten, may it

ever lie buried in oblivion, and no more strife ever happen among you, but that laudable emulation who shall prove himself the most zealous servant and dutiful subject of the best of princes, and most useful member of a well-established and flourishing community, of which you gentlemen have given a happy example."

In replying to these remarks, the Speaker, Robert Livingston, said: "You have governed well and wisely, like a prudent magistrate, like an affectionate parent and, wherever you go and whatever station the Divine Providence shall please to assign you, our sincere desires and prayers for the happiness of you and yours, shall always attend you. We have seen many governors and may see more, and as none of those who had the honor to serve in your station were ever so justly fixed in the affections of the governed, so those to come will acquire no mean reputation when it can be said of them, their conduct has been like yours."

Hunter was bitterly attacked by the clergy, who nearly succeeded in securing his recall. The great difference was that while they were High-Churchmen, he was a Low-Churchman. He was accused by them of being the protector of Quakers and dissenters and the upholder of men of low and depraved tastes. The Presbyterians at that time were few in number and none too well treated, but Hunter vigorously defended them.

Rev. William Vesey, rector of Trinity Church, requested the governor to join in a petition to Queen Anne asking her to grant the Queen's Farm to Trinity, which he declined to do, saying that the Queen was well informed as to all the facts in the case and that it would be an improper thing for him to join in such a petition, but that he would grant the use of the farm during his administration, which was all that he had the power to do. This, however, was not satisfactory, so the clergy made every possible effort to secure his recall. Hunter, in a letter to the Bishop of London, said:

I have, by a liberal contribution and all the countenance and influence I could give it, finished Mr. Vesey's steeple. The Ancient Chappell in the fort, for many years past a beer garden, I have at great expense put in repair so that it is now one of the most decent and constantly attended Houses of Prayer in all America. I have, by my assistance and interest, at last finished the church at New Rochelle and granted a patent for the ground forever, a thing often sought but never obtained during the administration of former governors. I have now actually in hand subscriptions for the building of more at Rye, Piscataway, Elizabethtown, etc. . . . I have spared no pains to get finished the Forts and Chappells for ye reception of our Missionaries amongst the Indians, and, lastly, what ought not to be boasted of by any, but such as like me live amongst bad neighbors, I have charitably assisted the indigent of the Clergy.

The Palatines.—The coming of the Palatines was perhaps the most important as well as the most interesting event of Hunter's administration. They had their original home in the lower Palatinate of the Rhine, which was ruled by a hereditary prince known as the Count Palatine of the Rhine. Up to the time of the Reformation, these people were happy and contented, engaged with their gardens, vineyards and flocks. Their ruler espoused the cause of Luther and their little country was often the battleground of opposing forces in the bitter religious wars that followed. Louis XIV of France, whose bitterness toward his Huguenot subjects blinded his sense of justice, declared that the Palatinate was harboring heretics, and sent his armies into that country of simple, honest people and burned cities, towns and homes, destroyed vineyards and gardens, completely devastating the country. It is said that two cities and twenty-five villages were burning at the same time. The people of the Palatinate became exiles and wanderers. Early in the eighteenth century they began to find their way into England.

In the spring of 1708, Joshua Kocherthal, the pastor of a little band of Palatines, appeared before Queen Anne and begged her to send his people to America. This she agreed to do. She granted them a tract of 2,190 acres, situated on

the site of the present city of Newburgh. They were transported free of cost, supported for one year, furnished with seed, agricultural instruments and furniture, and exempt from taxes or quit rent. As soon as the little colony was well established, Kocherthal returned to England and, after an audience with the Queen, and an understanding with her, went to Germany and gathered three thousand of his distressed countrymen and brought them to England. It was a much larger number than had been expected, and the British authorities were embarrassed, not knowing what to do with such a body of helpless people.

Hunter, who had just been appointed governor of the province of New York, suggested that they be sent there to engage in the manufacture of tar and other naval stores, which at that time were being imported from the Baltic States. This was finally agreed upon and the Palatines signed a contract in which it was provided that they should be taken to America free of charge, to settle upon the land assigned them, and not leave that location without the consent of the governor. They were not to engage in woolen manufactures and were to produce tar which they were to sell to the British government, the proceeds to be applied toward the payment of the cost of their passage. They were to be supported for one year and provided with seed and implements. As soon as their debt was paid, they were to have forty acres of land each, for which they were to pay no taxes or quitrent for seven years.

Several sites were discussed, one on the Mohawk above Little Falls, another on Schoharie Creek, a third on the east side of the Hudson, and the fourth on the west side. None of these seems to have been positively settled upon, the matter being left to the discretion of Governor Hunter but the Palatines afterward claimed that they had been promised the Schoharie site.

Much thought was given to making the venture a success. An engineer was employed to instruct the emigrants in the making of tar. Overseers were appointed, also a commissary

and clerks. The passage was a long and stormy one and a fatal sickness broke out on shipboard. Four hundred and seventy died on the passage. When they reached New York they were landed on Governor's Island on account of the sickness which it was feared was due to some contagious disease. The orphans were bound out, the boys till they were seventeen years old, and the girls till they were fifteen.

In determining the matter of location the governor unfortunately trusted too much to others instead of investigating for himself. Interested parties, those who wanted the land for themselves or for their friends, persuaded the governor that the Mohawk and the Schoharie sites were not suitable. On his way up the Hudson he was entertained by Robert Livingston, a man of great ability and rare persuasive powers, but unfortunately unduly acquisitive. Livingston offered the governor six thousand acres of land—a part of his manor—on what seemed to be fair terms and the governor accepted his offer. The tract lay about eight miles below the city of Hudson and was the least suitable of all those that had been under consideration, but the agreement was made. Livingston had on his manor a bakehouse and a brewery, so he contracted with the governor for victualling the Palatines on terms that would have been satisfactory had proper food been furnished in sufficient amount.

In the meantime troubles arose and Hunter was put to great straits. There was a change in the English ministry and the new officials were not disposed to keep the agreement made by the old ones. The northern pine was found to be unsuitable for the manufacture of tar, and the Palatines discovered that they would never be able to pay their debt under the terms of the contract, and that they had virtually sold themselves into slavery. They were forced to pay the salaries of a large number of overseers, commissaries, clerks, etc. Their troubles, as they told them, were as follows:

The provisions furnished them were insufficient in quantity and unfit in quality. Promises made them had not been kept. Their children were taken from them and bound out

without their consent. The land assigned them was not suited for the production of tar or for raising corn and cattle. They were refused permission to settle in Schoharie on the land that had been promised them. They had been required to furnish three hundred men for an expedition against Canada. These men were not paid for their services and their families were left to suffer. During their second year they were notified by the governor that he could no longer provide for their substance, but that they must not leave the province.

The Palatines turned to the Indians for relief and the latter gave them permission to settle on their lands in Schoharie. About fifty families made their way in the fall, and more in the spring following. Albany parties made an effort to dislodge them, urging the Indians to sell their lands to others, but they refused to do so. Then Governor Hunter sold the land to Albany parties and further efforts were made to drive out the Palatines. This is the story as the Palatines told it, but Hunter told it differently, complaining that many of the Palatines were lazy and shiftless and had little regard for their word. Doubtless there were some ne'er-do-wells among the Palatines and others who were obstinate and stubborn, but it seems equally clear that Livingston and the Albany speculators were unduly greedy and not altogether honorable in their dealings with the Palatines.

William Burnet.—Burnet was the son of Gilbert Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury. He was an upright man and made an able governor. The most important event of his administration was the attempt to capture the Indian trade from the French. The assembly made an appropriation to enable the governor to repair the existing fortifications and build new ones. They also passed an act forbidding the sale of Indian goods to the French, who were in the habit of coming to New York and buying the bulk of the Indian goods brought from England and taking them to Quebec and there selling them to the Indians. In this way they controlled the greater part of that trade, and it enabled them to gain a great influence over the savages, an advantage that they were not slow to

take advantage of. After the law referred to went into effect, pieces of strouds (woolen goods manufactured at Strouds, England) sold at Albany for £10, while at Montreal they were worth £25. This had the effect of very largely transferring the Indian trade to the province of New York, and from the control of the few into the hands of the many. Burnet held many conferences with the Indians, some of whom came more than a thousand miles to attend a council. A trading post was established at Irondequoit on Lake Ontario and placed in charge of ten young men under the command of Peter Schuyler, Jr.

Burnet made Dr. Cadwallader Colden a member of his council. He continued to be a member of the council for more than half a century and was a man of note in the colony up to the time of the Revolution. He was a man of ability and literary taste, a philosopher and a scientist, and for more than twenty-five years carried on a correspondence with many of the learned men of Europe. He was the first New Yorker to achieve any considerable European reputation on account of his literary labors. His "History of the Five Nations" is still considered an authority on that subject.

The first newspaper published in New York came into existence during Burnet's administration. It was published by William Bradford and was called the *New York Gazette,* the first number of which appeared on the 16th of November, 1725. It was the size of a half sheet of foolscap, but within two years was doubled in size. It contained chiefly European news and custom-house entries.

After the death of King George in 1728, Burnet was made governor of Massachusetts and was succeeded in New York by Colonel James Montgomery, who was not a man of great force or ability. Little of consequence took place during his administration.

William Cosby.—Cosby's appointment was an unfortunate one and he had a stormy career. He was a man of limited education, haughty, pompous, avaricious, and possessed a violent temper, which he did not appear to make any effort

to control. He was a greedy, grasping, unscrupulous adventurer of the coarser type.

The assembly voted Cosby a salary of £1,500, in addition to which he had many perquisites and considerable allowance for expenses. He was accused of adding to his income by taking bribes and selling offices. The assembly also voted him a gratuity of £750 for alleged services in securing the repeal of a sugar bill that was supposed to be detrimental to the Middle Colonies. Although the King's instructions forbade Cosby to accept any present from the assembly, he was not only glad to do so but was angry because the gift was not larger. He blustered, threatened, and swore about the matter so that it was increased to £1,000.

Rip Van Dam.—The most important event of Cosby's administration was the quarrel with Rip Van Dam over the question of salary, out of which grew the Zenger trial for libel. On the death of Governor Montgomery on the 1st of July, 1731, Rip Van Dam, as president of the council, succeeded to the office of governor till such time as a successor to Montgomery should arrive at New York. He acted as governor for thirteen months, having a peaceful and popular government. At the close of his term the council passed warrants giving him the salary and the fees of the office for the time he had served.

The King gave Cosby an order directing that the salary, emoluments and perquisites of the office of Governor should be equally divided between him and Van Dam during the time that the latter held the office. Cosby demanded half the salary Van Dam had received, which the latter was willing to pay over provided Cosby would pay him half his receipts for perquisites and emoluments as per the King's order. This Cosby refused to do, so the two men were squarely opposed to each other and neither was disposed to yield.

Smith, the historian, says: "Van Dam was an eminent merchant of fair estate." He belonged to one of the early Dutch families and was born in Albany about 1662. With James Mills as a partner, he carried on a shipyard at the rear

of Trinity Church. He was assistant alderman for three years and a member of the King's council for thirty-three years—a man of the strictest integrity and very popular with the people.

Cosby was determined to compel Van Dam to turn over to him half the salary he had received, but he was puzzled as to the mode of procedure. He could not bring the matter before the Supreme Court, as his case was one of equity, not law. Being *ex officio* member of the court he was shut off from chancery as he could not hear his own case. He dared not bring a suit at common law as that would admit of a set-off by Van Dam. He feared that a jury would give a verdict against him, as it was plain to everyone that Van Dam was entitled to his salary and that Cosby was determined to use his official position to secure that to which he was not entitled. Public opinion was strongly in favor of Van Dam.

Cosby, by an ordinance dated December 4, 1732, attempted to give the judges of the Supreme Court authority to hear causes as Barons of the Exchequer and directed the attorney-general to bring an action before that court in the King's name. The chief justice was Lewis Morris, a man of great ability and large and varied experience. He had held the office of chief justice for eighteen years. The other members of the court were James DeLancey and Frederick Philipse. Van Dam was represented by James Alexander and William Smith, two of the ablest lawyers of the province, and they advised him to bring a suit against Cosby for half of what he had received beyond the amount collected by Van Dam. To the surprise of the latter the clerk of the court refused to affix a seal to the summons, and Cosby would not answer the declaration.

Not since the time of the execution of Leisler had there been the bitter partisan spirit that manifested itself now. Van Dam's lawyers took exception to the jurisdiction of the court to which the governor resorted, and in this they were supported by the chief justice, but he was overruled by his associates. Cosby then removed the chief justice from office.

The case was never settled and the court constituted by Cosby never met again.

Cosby made life so unbearable to those opposed to him that they resolved to present their grievances to the King, hoping that Cosby would be recalled if the truth were known. Lewis Morris was the one chosen to present their case. While in England he wrote Alexander, saying:

> And who is there that is equal to the task of procuring redress? Changing the man is far from an adequate remedy if the thing remains the same, and we had as well keep an ill, artless governor we know as to change him for one equally ill with more art, that we do not know. One of my neighbors used to say that he always rested better in a bed abounding in fleas after they had filled their bellies than to change it for a new one equally full of hungry ones, the fleas having no other business there but to eat. The inference is easy.

Later he wrote again, saying:

> Everybody here agrees in a contemptible opinion of Cosby, and nobody knows him better, or has a worse opinion of him, than the friends he relies upon, and it may be you will be surprised to hear that the most nefarious crime a governor can commit is not by some counted so bad as the crime of complaining of it—the last is an arraigning of the Ministry that advised the sending of him.

The bitterness growing out of the differences between Cosby and Van Dam divided the province into two parties, involving nearly everyone. Supporting Van Dam were Lewis Morris, James Alexander, William Smith, Gerardus Stuyvesant, Philip Livingston, Cadwallader Colden and most of the other prominent men of the city. The court party had Cosby for its leader with James DeLancey, Frederick Philipse, Richard Bradley and Francis Harrison as the leading members.

Van Dam's friends seemed powerless. The legislature was not in session; the only paper of the province, *The New York Weekly Gazette,* was completely under the control of

the court party, therefore the friends of Van Dam determined to start a newspaper that should stand for freedom of thought and speech. This was something that the world had not yet known. Everywhere—in England, in Boston and Philadelphia—men had suffered for daring to write the truth. It had driven Franklin from Boston, Bradford from Philadelphia, in our own country, and in England De Foe, Swift, Steele and others had suffered. Now in New York a paper was to be started for the avowed purpose of arousing the people by telling the truth.

John Peter Zenger, one of the Palatine orphans who had been bound out to William Bradford to learn the trade of printing, was conducting a small printing business in the city and agreed to undertake the management of a paper. That he had financial assistance is certain. That most of the caustic political articles in his paper came from another pen than his admits of no doubt. He was a good printer for his time, better than Bradford, but he was not an educated man nor a skillful writer. The new paper was called *The New York Weekly Journal.* The principal contributors were Lewis Morris, James Alexander, William Smith and Cadwallader Colden. The attack on Cosby and his party seems to have been directed by Mr. Alexander. The paper was filled with bitter attacks on Cosby's administration. No method of attack was neglected. There were calm, dispassionate and logical articles to appeal to thoughtful men. There were witticisms, satires, parodies, squibs, ballads, lampoons and personalities, until Cosby and his councillors were almost driven to madness. The great mass of the people were delighted beyond measure. The court party had no one who could effectively reply to the multitudinous attacks upon it.

Cosby and his adherents felt that Zenger and his paper must be silenced at all hazards, and they did not mean to stop short of that. The governor and his council requested the assembly to concur with them in prosecuting Zenger. Their request was laid upon the table. Then the matter was presented to the grand jury which refused to indict Zenger.

Determined not to be balked, Cosby had his attorney-general file an information against Zenger for "false, scandalous, malicious and seditious libel." On the 17th of November, Zenger was arrested and thrown into jail, the following warrant being issued by the council:

It is ordered that the Sheriff for the City of New York, do forthwith take and apprehend John Peter Zenger, for printing and publishing several seditious Libels dispersed throughout his Journals of Newspapers, entitled, *The New York Weekly Journal,* containing the freshest Advices, foreign and domestick; as having in them many things, tending to raise Factions and Tumults, among the people of this Province, inflaming their minds with Contempt of his Majesty's Government, and greatly disturbing the Peace thereof, and upon his taking the said John Peter Zenger, to commit him to the Prison or common Gaol of said City and County.

FRED. MORRIS, D. Cl. Con.

For several days Zenger was not permitted to speak with any person or to have the use of pen, ink and paper. Previous to this the council had ordered four numbers of Zenger's paper to be burned by the common hangman. After the first week Zenger continued the publication of his journal, editing it from the prison. His trial did not take place for six months and during all that time he was kept in jail, his bail being fixed at £800, a larger sum than he could raise—an exceedingly large sum for those days. It was fixed at that sum because it was believed that he could not raise it, thus insuring him that much punishment. There was no fear that he would run away. The court party would have welcomed that.

Smith and Alexander, Zenger's counsel, urged that the trial could not be held before Chief Justice DeLancey, as the latter's commission as judge was void, having been granted by the governor without the advice and consent of the council, and read "during pleasure" instead of "during good behavior." Evidently the point was well taken, as it was not only so regarded by the ablest lawyers at the time, but the Chief Justice acknowledged its force when he said: "You

have brought it to that point, gentlemen, that either we must go from the Bench or you from the Bar." He ordered their names to be stricken from the roll and refused to hear them in their own behalf. If he dared to resort to this practice in the case of two of the ablest lawyers of the city, it is clear that men of lesser note would not care to undertake the defense of Zenger. No doubt the action was intended to leave Zenger without counsel, except such as the court should see fit to assign.

It is difficult to give a clear idea of the effect upon the people of the city that was produced by the arrest of Zenger, followed by the disbarment of his counsel. It was an arbitrary act that showed the citizens that they were at the mercy of their rulers and that the courts offered no redress. They were angered by this, but dazed, helpless and hopeless. However, Smith and Alexander, who had written many of the offensive articles, did not leave Zenger in the lurch, but employed for his defense Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, then nearly eighty years of age, but still the foremost advocate in America and the first to achieve a continental reputation. His employment was kept a secret and his appearance at the trial was a complete surprise to Cosby and his adherents.

The trial came on in July. The court room was crowded almost to suffocation. All business was neglected and everyone seemed to feel the far-reaching importance of the matter at issue. The court had assigned John Chambers as counsel for Zenger. He was a young man without much experience and closely affiliated with the court party. He entered for Zenger a plea of not guilty and moved for a struck jury and a day of trial. The motion was allowed and the 4th of August fixed for the day of trial. So far, the court party had had everything its own way. Van Dam had not obtained his dues from Cosby; Morris had been removed from office; Zenger was in prison; his counsel had been disbarred.

The jury in this case was made up of men who are worthy of having their names remembered. Thomas Hunt was foreman. The others were Samuel Weaver, Stanley Holmes, John

Bell, Egbert Van Borsom, John Goelet, Benjamin Hildreth, Edward Man, Andries Marschalk, Abraham Keteltas and Hercules Wendover. These were the men who were to pass upon one of the most important cases in the history of our country, and their decision was to count for much for good or for evil.

Hamilton defended Zenger without any fee, saying that if a government could use the law of libel to suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the press, it would be the end of liberty in the colonies. The article of Zenger's that was the most offensive, and the one upon which conviction was most strongly urged, was that in which it was said that judges were removed and new courts were created without the consent of the assembly, whereby trial by jury might be denied whenever a governor was so disposed.

The Attorney-General opened the case by reading the information. In reply Mr. Hamilton said:

"I cannot think it proper for me (without doing violence to my own principles) to deny the Publication of a Complaint, which I think is the right of every free-born subject to make, when the matters so published can be supported with truth; and therefore I'll save Mr. Attorney the trouble of examining his witnesses to that point; and I do (for my client) confess, that he both printed and published the two newspapers set forth in the information, and I hope in so doing he has committed no crime."

The attorney-general and the chief justice both held that if Zenger had published the statements charged that he was guilty, but Hamilton held that the bare printing and publishing an article would not constitute a libel.

"You will have something more to do, before you make my client a libeler; for the words themselves must be libelous, that is false, scandalous, and seditious, or else we are not guilty."

Throughout the trial, Hamilton held tenaciously to the statement that the information charged his client with print-

ing and publishing a false, scandalous and seditious libel, and that those words meant something, and that it must be proved that his statements were false. The attorney-general and the chief justice continued to hold that the truth of a libel was no defense and could not be admitted as evidence. They declared that the only matter for the jury to pass upon was the fact of publication, and this was in accordance with the precedents of that time, but there had recently been a disposition to accept a broader interpretation of the law, and it was that thought that Hamilton pressed with all his skill and ability. He said:

"It is true that in times past it was a crime to speak the truth, and in that terrible court of Star Chamber many worthy and brave men suffered for so doing; and yet even in that court, and in those bad times, a great and good man durst say what I hope will not be taken amiss of me to say in this place, that the practice of informations for libels is a sword in the hands of a wicked king, and an arrant coward, to cut down and destroy the innocent; the one cannot, because of his high station, and the other dares not, because of his want of courage, revenge himself in any other manner."

The following discussion took place between the chief justice and Mr. Hamilton. The chief justice said:

"That is certain. All words are libelous, or not, as they are understood. Those who are to judge of the words must judge whether they are scandalous, or ironical; tend to the breach of the peace, or are seditious. There can be no doubt of it."

MR. HAMILTON: "I thank your honor; I am glad to find the court of this opinion. Then it follows that those twelve men must understand the words in the information to be scandalous, that is to say false; for I think it is not pretended they are of the ironical sort; and when they understand the words to be so, they will say we are guilty of publishing a false libel, and not otherwise."

CHIEF JUSTICE: "No, Mr. Hamilton, the jury may find that Zenger printed and published those papers, and leave it to the court to judge whether they are libelous; you know this is very common;

it is in the nature of a special verdict, where the jury leave the matter of the law to the Court."

Mr. Hamilton: "I know, may it please your Honor, the jury may do so; but I do likewise know that they may do otherwise. I know they have the right, beyond all dispute, to determine both the law and the fact, and where they do not doubt the law, they ought to do so. This leaving it to the judgment of the Court, whether the words are libelous or not, in effect renders juries useless (to say no worse) in many cases; but this I shall have occasion to speak to by and by."

In the discussion between Mr. Hamilton and the attorney-general as to what constituted libel, Mr. Hamilton said:

"If libel is understood in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know, that may not be called a libel, or scarce any person safe from being called to account as a libeler."

Speaking to the jury, Mr. Hamilton said:

"Gentlemen: The danger is great in proportion to the mischief that may happen, through our too great credulity. A proper confidence in a court is commendable; but as the verdict (whatever it is) will be yours you ought to refer no part of your duty to the discretion of other persons. If you should be of the opinion, that there is no falsehood in Mr. Zenger's papers, you will, nay (pardon me for the expression) you ought to say so; because you don't know whether others (I mean the Court) may be of that opinion. It is your right to do so; and there is much depending upon your resolution, as well as upon your integrity."

In closing Mr. Hamilton said:

"You see that I labor under the weight of years and am borne down by many infirmities of body; old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost parts of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations set afoot by the government to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating and complaining of

the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who oppress and injure the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of the kind. But, to conclude, the question before the Court, and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York, alone, which you are now trying. It may, in its consequences, affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty, and I make no doubt that your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny, and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing, arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least, by speaking and writing the truth."

Bradley, the attorney-general, among other things, said:

"As Mr. Hamilton has confessed the printing, and there could be no doubt that they were scandalous papers, highly reflecting upon his Excellency, and the principal Magistrate in the province, he therefore made no doubt but that the jury would find the defendant guilty, and would refer to the Court for their direction."

The chief justice, in his charge to the jury, said:

"Gentlemen of the jury: The great pains Mr. Hamilton has taken, to show you how little regard juries are to pay to the opinion of the Judges; and his insisting so much upon the conduct of some judges in trials of this kind; is done, no doubt, with a design that you should take but very little notice of what I might say upon this occasion. I shall, therefore, only observe to you that, as the facts or words in the information are confessed; the only thing that can come in question before you is whether the words set forth in the information, make a libel. And that is a matter of law, no doubt, and which you may leave to the Court."

The reply of Bradley, and the charge of the chief justice, were addressed to men who were already convinced, and therefore were without effect. The jury were out for only a moment and returned with a verdict of "Not guilty." It is said that the scene that followed the announcement of the verdict has never been equaled in a New York court room. The audience broke into cheers that could be heard far away. The Court in rage and amazement threatened the leader of the applause with imprisonment, when Captain Norris, a son-in-law of ex-Chief Justice Morris, said that hurrahs were as lawful there as in Westminster Hall, where they were somewhat loud when the seven bishops were acquitted. The applause broke out again and the court room rang with huzzas for Hamilton.

The corporation of the city tendered Hamilton a public dinner and the mayor, in a complimentary address, presented him with the freedom of the city in a beautiful gold box purchased by private subscription. That evening a grand ball was given in his honor and, when he returned to his home in Philadelphia, he was escorted to his barge with much ceremony. As he departed, cannon were fired, banners waved and the air resounded with the cheers of the multitude. The outcome of the Zenger trial established three things:

1. It established the freedom of the press in North America;
2. It wrought an important change in the law of libel;
3. It marked the beginning of a new era in popular government.

Gouverneur Morris says: "The trial of Zenger was the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."

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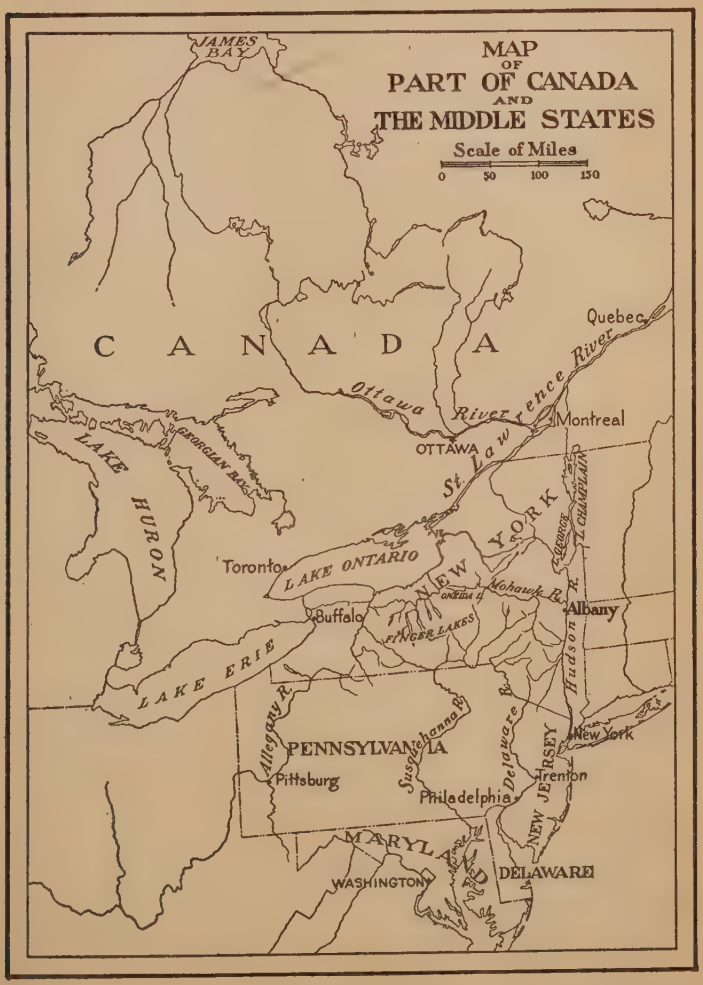
VII

ALBANY AS A COLONIAL CENTER

When railroads were unknown and roads of any kind were few in number and very poor, transportation in our country was almost wholly by water, and largely in canoes. In those early days Albany was the great colonial center, made so by nature, not by man. It was, in fact, the colonial capital. It was the natural base for all operations against the French and Indians, except the few that went by water to Port Royal, Louisburg or Quebec. It was the objective point of Burgoyne's campaign, as it had been of the French and Indians in earlier days. It was the place where armies were assembled, councils held, and treaties made. All this because Albany was so easily accessible from all directions.

Look at the map on page 189 showing the water courses of this and adjoining states. Note the short distance from the headwaters of one river system to those of another. Remember that the Hudson River flows through the only low-lying, wide-open gap in the whole Appalachian Mountain system. Observe that the Mohawk River flows into the Hudson near Albany, opening the way to the headwaters of the streams that take their rise in the middle of the state, their waters finding the ocean by the way of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, New York, Delaware or Chesapeake bays, or the Gulf of Mexico. This at once gives an idea of the immense territory reached by water from Albany, with only short carries and those few in number. Let us briefly consider a few of the details. The Hudson has so slight a fall that the tide rises and falls at Albany, making navigation up and down that river very easy. From the Hudson at Kingston, canoes could go up the Esopus and Rondout creeks and the Wall-

kill River, reaching a large tract of fertile country, then by short carries pass to the headwaters of the Delaware and the



Susquehanna, thus reaching a vast territory. From the eastern branches of the Susquehanna the carries to the Mohawk

River or the Schoharie Creek were not long or difficult. From the western branches of the Susquehanna, the Finger Lakes and the headwaters of the Genesee and the Allegheny rivers were easily reached. It was easy to paddle up the Hudson to Fort Edward, from which point both Lake George and Lake Champlain were close at hand. Ascending the Mohawk to the present city of Rome it was but a short carry to the head of Wood Creek, and thence to Lake Ontario at Oswego. This made much of Canada accessible through the rivers and streams flowing into Lake Ontario from that country. A careful study of the accompanying map will show that this description has by no means exhausted the possibilities of water navigation from Albany.

Some account of the city of Albany in the early days should precede its discussion as a colonial center. It consisted of one main street parallel to the river, and a broad street at right angles to that, leading up to the fort on the hill. A few streets of minor importance led off from these two. The more important public buildings were in the center of the broad street leading up the hill. At the foot was the Dutch church, farther up the English church. There was also in the street a market place, a guardhouse, and a town hall.

Albany was nearly on the dividing line between the territory of the Algonquins of the lower Hudson and the Iroquois of Central New York. It was a Dutch stronghold and the center of the great Van Rensselaer Manor. It was the home of the Schuylers—the great Dutch family that furnished Albany six mayors and the patriot army one of its greatest generals.

Albany was first seen by Hudson on the 19th of September, 1609. The French traders built a fort on Castle Island, now known as Rensselaer's Island, in 1540, eighty years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. The first structure, erected in what is now Albany, was Fort Orange, which was located on what is now known as Steamboat Square. The little village that grew up around the fort was first called Beverswyck.

Albany has had an enduring settlement since the arrival

of the Walloons in 1624. During the early days of our country it ranked in importance with Jamestown, Manhattan, Plymouth and Quebec. It has always been a place of importance. Albert Shaw says that it is one of the four great law-making centers of the Anglo-Saxon race. It was here that the project for a union of the colonies first took form. It was really the birthplace of the nation. It was chartered as a city in 1686. Its first newspaper, the *Albany Gazette,* appeared in November, 1771. It was the objective point of Burgoyne in 1777. It was made the capital of the state in 1797. The first passenger railroad in America was operated between Albany and Schenectady. The first steamboat on this continent made its first trip from New York to Albany. The first canal in this country connected Buffalo with Albany. It was at Albany, in his experimental room at the Albany Academy, that Professor Henry demonstrated the practicability of the electric telegraph.

In 1644 Father Jogues described Albany as "a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many swivels, with some twenty-five or thirty houses built of boards, and having thatched roofs."

In 1749 Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist visiting Albany, said: "There is not a place in all the British colonies, the Hudson Bay settlement excepted, where such quantities of furs and skins are bought of the Indians as at Albany." In 1656 the Dutch church was built, which was much like a blockhouse of that time. It was loopholed and mounted three cannon.

In 1758 Albany was a Dutch town with a few cultivated and aristocratic families like the Schuylers. Every well-to-do family owned slaves, but they were kindly treated. Mrs. Grant said it was "slavery softened into a smile." Aside from a few families like the Schuylers, no one was "very rich or very poor; very knowing or very ignorant; very rude or very polished." At this time most of the houses were built of brick, and stood with the gable ends to the street. Each

house had a stoop where the family usually sat summer evenings. There was a good-sized garden for every house.

Fort Frederick stood on the hill just below the present Capitol. It bore different names at different times and was not destroyed till 1784. Albany itself has had a number of names—some applied to the whole city and some to a part of what now constitutes the city. The names are Fuyck, Fort Orange, Beverswyck, Rensselaerswyck, Willemstadt and Albany. In 1685 the city was surrounded by a strong fence supported by posts thirteen feet long. About the only objects visible from the outside were the church and the fort. Much of interest in regard to life in Albany in the early days might be given, but it is Albany as a colonial center that is to receive chief attention. Let us first consider it as a center where councils with the Indians were held, a place for treaties to be made and for gatherings for consultation. No attempt will be made to present an account of all these meetings, or any very full account of any of them. That would take too much space. The primary purpose is to show the importance of Albany in colonial times. The occurrences related will be taken up in chronological order.

1664.—The first treaty between the English and the Iroquois was made at Albany on the 24th of September, 1664. The English agreed not to aid the New England Indians in their wars with the Iroquois, and the latter made a treaty of peace with the River Indians. The policy of the English was to keep peace with all the Indians of the colony and unite them in opposition to the French, that the English might secure the bulk of the fur trade. This was the dominant thought of the English throughout the colonial period, and Albany was the center from which all expeditions were sent out and the place where the greater part of the Indian councils were held.

1667.—At a very early day the interest of the English reached far beyond the boundaries of the colony of New York because of the extent of the fur trade, and because the territory of the Iroquois was very extensive and their wars, with

which the English were more or less concerned, led them to all parts of the country from Canada to the Carolinas. They had harried the borders of Maryland and Virginia and, finally being willing to consider a peace, they met delegates from those colonies at Albany in 1677 and agreed to commit no further depredations—an agreement that was not kept very long. It was easy to find an excuse for breaking a treaty if self-interest prompted it, and the Indians had no monopoly in that line.

1684.—The treaty of 1677 was soon ignored and for some years the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas had been making forays into Maryland and Virginia, plundering and killing the settlers on the borders. In 1684 representatives of these tribes met at Albany with Governor Eppingham of Maryland and Governor Dongan of New York. Before the close of the council, representatives of the Mohawks and the Senecas also appeared. The Five Nations agreed to behave themselves in the future and to refrain from harrying the borders of Maryland and Virginia. A hole was dug in the courtyard of the council house, a representative of each of the offending tribes threw a hatchet into it, and Governor Eppingham did the same. The hole was then filled with earth and a song of peace was sung.

1686.—Governor Dongan, who was having much trouble with Denonville, the governor of Canada, summoned the Five Nations to meet with him at Albany on the 15th of April, 1686. He warned them that Denonville was planning to attack them and promised assistance, but owing to a treaty made between France and England whereby each agreed not to interfere with any wars that the other might have in America, even if the two nations were at war with each other in Europe, Dongan was not allowed to keep his promise.

The Jesuits had converted some of the people of the Five Nations and persuaded them to remove to a place near Montreal known as Caughnawaga. Both the Five Nations and the English were anxious to induce them to return. Dongan promised that if they could be persuaded to come back to

New York he would build them a church at Saratoga and ask King James to send over an English priest.

1692.—Captain Ingoldsby met the Five Nations at Albany on the 6th of June, 1692. He promised that the English would vigorously prosecute the war against the French and urged the Indians to do the same. The speaker for the Five Nations said: "Brother Corlear, we are all the subjects of one great King and Queen; we have one head, one heart, one interest, and are all engaged in the same war." They promised active support but accused the English of a lack of earnestness, and said that if the English and the Five Nations were earnest and united they could destroy Canada in one summer.

1693.—There was a growing feeling on the part of the English that the Five Nations were cultivating friendly relations with the French, and this feeling was strengthened by the presence of the Jesuits in the Indian castles. Governor Fletcher summoned the Five Nations to meet him at Albany in July, 1693. He reproached them for being so under the influence of the Jesuit, Milet, whom he declared had induced them to apply to the French for terms of peace. He advised them to send Milet out of their country. At the close of his address the governor made the Indians a present of ninety guns, eight hundred pounds of powder, eight hundred bars of lead, one thousand flints, eighty-seven hatchets, four gross of knives, and a quantity of clothing and provisions, all of which he told them was from their King and Queen.

In reply, a representative of the Five Nations made a long address in which he thanked the King and Queen for the presents, particularly for the ammunition, but his statement in regard to Milet was evasive and noncommittal. When Fletcher pressed that matter they resisted firmly, though in a friendly manner. Finally they promised that sometime in the future, under certain contingencies, they would dismiss Milet, but the Oneidas had agreed that they would send a letter to the governor of Canada asking terms of peace and they could not be induced to break that promise. Through

the influence of the Mohawks they agreed to submit their communication to the English before sending.

1694.—In accordance with the promise made, a group of Oneida sachems appeared at Albany on the 2d of February, 1694, with a copy of their reply to the offers of peace made by the French. Their speaker was Decanesora who, for many years, had been the principal speaker for the Five Nations. In the absence of the governor, he addressed Mayor Schuyler and the magistrates of Albany. In reply, Mayor Schuyler told them that no consent would be given to any peace with the French. He asked them to come again in ninety days and meet with the governor, and he also asked that they have no correspondence with the French during that time. Decanesora replied that he was not authorized to make such a promise but that he would present the request at each of the castles, though he could not promise that it would be complied with.

Early in the spring, Decanesora, with other deputies, went to Canada. In May a delegation went to Albany as they had agreed to do. Governor Fletcher told them that he could not make any peace with the French, though he could not promise any vigorous action in prosecuting a war against them. The Indians wanted either peace or a vigorous prosecution of the war. The present condition of an enemy on one hand and a lukewarm friend on the other placed them in a most unfortunate position. If war went on, they had to bear the brunt of it. If they made peace with the French and the English did not, they were between two fires. Their position in regard to the war was a proper one but it found no support from Fletcher.

1700.—The French actively circulated stories to the effect that the English were not friendly to the Indians and that they were planning their destruction. The Five Nations were so disturbed by these stories that Governor Bellomont called a council to meet at Albany on the 26th of August, 1700. The uneasiness of the Indians was shown by the appearance of representatives from all the Five Nations as early as the 2d

of the month. The governor expressed his regret that they should have credited the stories circulated by the French and that the Jesuits had been so successful in creating distrust of the English who were the best friends the Five Nations ever had. He assured them of the King's protection and promised to build a fort in the Onondaga country large enough to accommodate two hundred men, also to send them English ministers who would instruct their children. The Five Nations replied that they would not credit the French in the future and that if a reward were offered them they would seize all the Jesuits and bring them to Albany. They also offered to send twelve men from each nation to help build the fort. In regard to the offer to educate their children they said: "That is a matter not under our control; it belongs to the women entirely."

Bellomont then gave the Indians two hundred bags of balls, each bag containing one hundred pounds; two hundred fusees; two hundred pounds of lead; two thousand flints; one hundred hatchets; two hundred knives; two hundred shirts; forty kegs of rum; sixty-three hats; three barrels of pipes, tobacco, etc. After the distribution of these presents the council adjourned.

1722.—The old question of the observing of the boundary line between the Southern Indians and the Five Nations kept arising. To settle this matter, if possible, a council was called that met at Albany on the 27th of August, 1722. Governor Burnet of New York, Governor Keith of Pennsylvania and Governor Spottswood of Virginia met with the Five Nations. This was the first Albany council at which the Tuscaroras were represented. It was finally agreed that the governor of Virginia would be responsible for seeing that the Indians of that province did not cross the boundary line, and the Five Nations assumed the same responsibility for the Indians on the Susquehanna. As an outcome of this council more than forty young Englishmen entered the Indian country as traders. They made the acquaintance of many Indian tribes, learned their language and were very valuable in keeping

the English informed as to the conditions in the Indian country. In that way they contributed much toward the maintenance of peace.

1727.—The French had long been desirous of constructing a fort at Niagara. Receiving permission from a portion of the Senecas, they proceeded to build though the rest of the Six Nations were opposed to it. This led the Indians to seek assistance from the English and, in 1727, they met with Governor Burnet at Albany. They were thoroughly aroused and were exceedingly anxious to drive the French out. The chiefs said to Burnet: "We come to you howling, and the reason we howl is that the governor of Canada encroaches on our land and builds thereon." The chiefs declared that they were not strong enough to resist the French and begged the English to help them. They formally surrendered their country to the great King "to be protected by him for their use." This situation presented a great opportunity to the people of the province of New York, but as they were more taken up with quarrels with their governor than in looking out for their immediate interests no advantage was taken of the occasion. All that the governor was able to do was to build a small fort at Oswego, and even that he had to do at his own expense.

1728.—Building a fort at Oswego greatly enraged the French. Although it was not in their territory, and France and England were at peace, the governor of Canada threatened to send a force to destroy it. Matters were sufficiently threatening so that the governor of New York called a council of the Six Nations to meet at Albany to take the matter into consideration. The Iroquois promised to help in the defense of Oswego and after the usual distribution of presents they returned to their homes. The French never made the attack that they had threatened.

1741.—Rivalry in the fur trade, together with all that grew out of that trade, naturally kept the French and English at odds. Each wished to control the fur trade. Each sought the alliance of the Iroquois. Each wished to erect a fort

at Tierondequoit on Lake Ontario. Each endeavored to arouse the Six Nations against the other. Lieutenant-Governor Clarke summoned the Six Nations to meet him in council at Albany in August, 1741. He reproved them for their intimacy with the French and said that they favored the latter though they were much better treated by the English. He told them that he had been directed by their great father, the King, to bring about a peace among the Indians so that all the red men south of Canada and east of the Mississippi should form one mighty chain. He thanked the Six Nations for helping to maintain the fort at Oswego.

The sachems in their reply, in speaking of Oswego, said, they wished "their brother Corlear would make lead and powder cheaper there and pay the Indians better for helping them build their houses." In regard to Tierondequoit, they said: "We perceive that both you and the French intend to settle that place but we are fully resolved that neither you nor they shall do it. There is a jealousy between you and the governor of Canada. If either should settle there it would breed mischief. Such near neighbors can never agree. We think that the trading houses at Oswego and Niagara are near enough to each other."

The Six Nations agreed to make a treaty of peace with the Southern Indians and the council broke up with good feeling on all sides and the Indians returned to their homes well laden with presents.

1745.—On the 5th of October, 1745, Governor Clinton with several members of his council and delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania met in council with the Six Nations at Albany. Nearly five hundred Indians were present, representing all the nations of the Confederacy, except the Senecas who were detained on account of a fatal sickness among their people. Governor Clinton opened the council. He condoled with the Indians on account of the grievous sickness among their brethren, the Senecas. He urged them to join the English in a vigorous movement against the French. He told them of the great successes

of the English over the French in Europe and expressed his deep regret at the friendship that seemed to exist between the French and the Six Nations. He presented them with a hatchet to strike the French if their hearts were with the English.

Two days after the sachems made reply. They thanked the governor for his information in regard to the progress of the war and denied having any friendly relations with the French. In regard to the governor's appeal to them to join in a war against the French, they said: "You desire, as we are of one flesh with you, that we would also take up the hatchet against the French, and the Indians under their influence, with you. We, the Six Nations, accept of the hatchet, and will put it in our bosoms! We are in alliance with a great many of the far Indians and if we should suddenly lift up the hatchet without acquainting our allies of it, they would, perhaps, take offense at it. We will, therefore, before we make use of the hatchet against the French or their Indians, send four of our people, who are now ready to go, to Canada to demand satisfaction for the wrongs they have done our brethren and, if they refuse to make satisfaction, then we will be ready to use the hatchet against them whenever our brother, the governor of New York, orders us to do it." At this point presents were distributed among the Indians with the request that the Senecas be given their share and the council closed without having accomplished any very definite results.

1746.—This year another council was called to meet at Albany. The Six Nations were reminded that they had not kept their promise of the year before in regard to taking up the hatchet against the French. They were told that their great father, the King, had determined to destroy the Canadians and that already troops from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York were in motion and would soon be at Albany; that troops and ships of war were expected from England, and that the French would be attacked both by land and sea, and that the Six Nations were

expected to join in the great movement against the French. They were reminded that the French in times past had invaded the country of the Mohawks, the Onondagas, and the Senecas, burning their towns, destroying their crops, and that now they had an opportunity to revenge those insults and injuries. They were also reminded that the English had always been their friends and had never made war upon them.

The speech was well received. Three days later the sachems were ready with their reply. They admitted that the bloody affair at Saratoga and other acts on the part of the French demanded the fulfillment of their pledge, and they were now ready to join in a war against the French. The next day they were given presents of greater value than any they had ever received before, and went home happy and enthusiastic.

1748.—A great council was held at Albany in July, 1748. On the 20th, Governor Clinton arrived accompanied by Dr. Colden and other members of his council. Governor Shirley and the commissioners from Massachusetts Bay were already there, as well as a large number of Indians. The council was formally opened on the 29th. Seven colonial governors with their staffs were present, as well as the Indian commissioners of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and thirty chiefs of high rank. There were representatives from the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Wyandots, Adirondacks, River Indians, and some far-off tribes. Many of the Indians brought their wives and children with them. Never before had so many Indians gathered at Albany. There were some whose ancestors had fought with King Philip, others whose forefathers were followers of Uncas, and still others who at a later date were to join with the great Pontiac in his effort to expel the English from the West. Governor Clinton gave all the Indians new clothes and gaudy attire. Never before had they received such an ovation, and rarely had Albany witnessed such a sight. The council lasted for ten days and was "one of the most picturesque in the history

of Albany." For a long time it was one of the proudest boasts an Indian could make—that he was at the Great Council at Albany.

Perhaps the most noted Indian present was the Seneca Chief Hi-o-ka-to, the husband of "The White Woman of the Genesee," Mary Jemison. He had been one of the bitterest foes of the English and was reported to have said that he would never speak a word to an Englishman. The Indians were very enthusiastic over the meeting and were united in their opposition to the French, but on the whole the outcome of the council was disappointing. No very important matters were settled, though the good feeling aroused was a matter of encouragement.

1751.—For a long time there had been a bad feeling between the Six Nations and the Catawbas, and a bloody war had been waged. It was supposed that all difficulties had been settled at a former council at which the Six Nations had agreed to a peace, but as the Catawbas were not at that council meeting the Six Nations claimed that the peace was conditioned upon its being confirmed by a meeting with some of the leading men of the Catawbas, and that they never appeared, so hostilities broke out again fiercer than ever before, the Six Nations going as far south as the Carolinas to attack their foes.

Arrangements were made for holding a council at Albany for the purpose of settling the difficulties between these two nations. Shortly after this arrangement had been made the governor of Virginia asked the Six Nations to meet the Catawbas in council at Fredericksburg. They felt that they were the aggrieved party and that the Catawbas should come to them, and declined but said to the governor that if he would "move his council fire to Albany they would gladly hear him." This was agreed upon and a preliminary conference was held on the 28th of June, 1751. Governor Clinton was present accompanied by Dr. Colden and other members of his council. Commissioners were present from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina. The King of the Catawbas

and five Catawba sachems accompanied the commissioner from South Carolina.

The Six Nations asked for a private interview with Governor Clinton before the formal opening of the council and their request was granted. The resignation of Johnson as Indian Commissioner had been announced and the Six Nations were distressed. They urged the governor to use his influence with Johnson to have him reconsider his action. An Indian runner, who was sent for Johnson, met him on his way to the council meeting. He refused to reconsider his action saying that he had advanced large sums of money that had not been repaid, and that if he continued in office he would be ruined, as it was not possible to hold councils with the Indians successfully without the expenditure of large sums of money. He promised to render all the service that he could in a private capacity. At this time he was sworn in as a member of the governor's council and remained through the conference with the Indians.

The council was formally opened on the 6th of July with a short speech by Governor Clinton, who urged that all the Indians of the colonies unite in a common cause against the French, saying that in that way they would be invincible. He especially urged that they make peace with the Catawbas. Two days later the Six Nations made a favorable response and a peace with the Catawbas was consummated. Before the council was formally closed "the hatchet was buried irrecoverably deep and a tree of peace was planted, which was to be as green as the Alleghenies, and to spread its branches till its shadow should reach from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico."

1754.—On the 18th of September, 1753 the following circular, which was dated at Whitehall, was sent out by the Lords of Trade to the governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia:

His Majesty having been pleased to order a sum of money to be issued for presents to the Six Nations of Indians, and to direct his

Governor of New York to hold an interview with them for delivering those presents, for burying the hatchet, and renewing the Covenant Chain with them, we think it our duty to acquaint you therewith, and as we find it has been usual upon former occasions, when an interview has been held with those Indians, for all His Majesty's colonies, whose interest and security are connected with and depend upon them, to join in such interview, and as the present disposition of those Indians and the attempts which have been made to withdraw them from the British interest appear to us to make such a general interview more particularly necessary at this time, we desire you will lay this matter before the Council and General Assembly of the Province under your government and recommend to them forthwith to make proper provision for appointing Commissioners to be joined with those of the other governments for renewing the Covenant Chain with the Six Nations, and for making such presents to them as has been usual upon the like occasions. And we desire that in the choice and nomination of the Commissioners you will take care that they are men of character, ability, and integrity, and well acquainted with Indian affairs. As to the time and place of meeting it is left to the Governor of New York to fix it, and he has orders to give you early notice of it.

To this most important congress the following delegates were sent by the colonies:

Massachusetts—Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge and John Worthington.

New Hampshire—Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibird, Meshach Weare, and Henry Sherburne, Jr.

Connecticut—William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Elisha Williams.

Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins and Martin Howard, Jr.

Pennsylvania—John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin.

Maryland—Colonel Benjamin Tasker and Major Abraham Barnes.

New York—Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers and William Smith.

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia wrote approving the general plan and saying that he would coöperate in any program that the convention might adopt, and added, "The war is at my back door already and I have my hands full." The governors of the Carolinas wrote in a similar strain.

The Six Nations, the Delawares from Western Pennsylvania, and the River Indians were at Albany at the opening of the congress. There had been many other meetings of representatives from the various colonies for various specific purposes but this was the first that put forth a plan for the union of the colonies as a permanent condition. Other meetings had provided for a union for a short time for a particular purpose only.

The council with the Indians was opened with an address by Governor DeLancey of New York. He told the Indians that they had been invited to receive presents from the King and from the colonies, and to renew and brighten the covenant chain. He reproved them for living scattered about the country instead of at their castles as formerly. He told them that the French were trying to possess themselves of the whole country, and wished to know if they had built their forts on Lake Erie, and the Ohio River, with the consent or approval of the Six Nations.

Three days later the Indians replied through King Hendrick who said the Indians had been compelled to scatter for safety as the English had neglected them for the past three years and had not once called them to meet in council. He said the Six Nations would have driven the French from Crown Point if the English had not prevented them. He then ridiculed the English for burning their own fort at Saratoga and then abandoning the whole country so that an enemy might march to the very gates of Albany without opposition. He closed by saying: "Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying everywhere! But, we are ashamed to say it, you are all like women, bare and open, without any fortifications!" Chief Abraham followed in a similar strain. Governor DeLancey made a conciliatory

reply and several days were spent in listening to speeches from the Indians and in replying to them. After the Indians had received their presents and renewed their covenants, they departed declaring their hostility to the French.

Colonel Johnson made a written report in which he recommended that garrisons be established at various points in the country of the Six Nations, that a military officer reside at each castle so as to keep the government informed as to what was taking place, that a number of young men be kept in each nation that they might learn the language and be able to act as interpreters, and, inasmuch as owing to their wars with the French the Six Nations had not been able to do the usual amount of hunting or to raise large crops, that they be provided with food till such time as they were able to provide for themselves. He also recommended that a store of clothing and provisions be kept at Oswego and other points, from which the Indians might be supplied. His report was universally approved and Benjamin Franklin was requested to extend to him the thanks of the congress.

The sessions of the congress were held in the courthouse, the first one being on the 19th of June. On the 23d, the Rev. Richard Peters, one of the commissioners from Pennsylvania, preached a sermon that was ordered printed. On the 24th it was unanimously voted that a union of all the colonies was "absolutely necessary for their security and defense." A committee consisting of Thomas Hutchinson, Theodore Atkinson, William Pitkin, Stephen Hopkins, Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Tasker was appointed "to prepare and receive plans or schemes for the union of the colonies and to digest them into one general plan," and report to the convention. After several debates the committee reported "a plan of a proposed union of the several colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina." The plan was accepted by the convention. It provided for a president-general to be appointed and supported by the

Crown, and a grand council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies. The grand council was to consist of forty-eight members distributed as follows: New Hampshire 2, Rhode Island 2, New Jersey 3, New York 4, North Carolina 4, South Carolina 4, Maryland 4, Connecticut 5, Pennsylvania 6, Massachusetts 7, and Virginia 7.

The grand council was to hold annual meetings at Philadelphia and have power to make laws for the colonies and regulations for the control of the Indians; to build forts, impose taxes and duties and regulate trade. All laws enacted were to be, so far as possible, in harmony with those of England and were to be submitted to the King for his approval. If he did not disapprove within three years, they were to be in force and binding until repealed. This plan met with the unanimous approval of the convention but it had the singular fortune to be opposed by the colonies because it gave too much power to the Crown, and was rejected by the Crown because it gave too much power to the people. This congress was the first public step toward independence.

To provide for the immediate necessities of the colonies, the congress passed a resolution asking the King to appoint Governor Shirley of Massachusetts commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. It was agreed that the colonies should raise and maintain a force of twenty-five thousand men, and that Virginia and the Carolinas would be regarded as doing their full share if they defended their own borders. The Indians agreed to furnish a thousand picked warriors provided Johnson was made their commander-in-chief, and to raise six hundred more for the defense of Oswego if it should prove to be necessary. Three commissioners were appointed to go to England and present the situation to the King and his ministers, and ask that at least twelve thousand regular troops be sent to this country and also a fleet strong enough to blockade the St. Lawrence and so cut off all communication between France and Canada. After completing its duties the congress adjourned subject to the call of Governor Shirley.

A brief synopsis of the military expeditions that assembled

at Albany will also tend to show its importance as a colonial center.

1690—Five hundred and fifteen men commanded by Winthrop of Connecticut met at Albany for a movement against Montreal.

1691—Peter Schuyler, the Mayor of Albany, led a force of about three hundred men and attacked La Prairie.

1709—Colonel Nicholson gathered a force of fifteen hundred men at Albany for a movement against Canada.

1711—This year Colonel Nicholson gathered a force of twenty-three hundred men at Albany for the purpose of invading Canada.

1755—Johnson assembled four thousand men at Albany for the purpose of attacking Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

1756—Loudon assembled an army of ten thousand men who met at Albany but frittered away the season without accomplishing anything.

1757—The French under Montcalm captured Fort William Henry. The English had more than four thousand men scattered from Lake George to Albany, the latter place being the base of operations.

1758—An army of more than fifteen thousand men gathered at Albany only to march to a disastrous defeat at Ticonderoga.

1759—Amherst gathered about eleven thousand men at Albany and marched against the French, capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point and driving the French out of the colony, save for a post on an island in the extreme northern part of Lake Champlain.

Albany, the most important colonial center, the place where the English from all the colonies met to consult with the Indians and make treaties with them; Albany, the gathering place of armies where troops from all the colonies met; Albany, the objective point of the French on several occasions, was never taken by an enemy and never saw an armed foe.

In preparing the preceding chapter the following authorities were consulted and acknowledgments are hereby rendered for assistance received:

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VIII

INDIAN TRAILS

The old Indian trails played no unimportant part in the early history of our state. A full account of the major and minor trails in relation to early history and to modern commercial routes would be most interesting, but it would be very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to gather the information necessary to a complete account. But these trails were so important to the Indians, were so largely used by Indian traders, and to some extent by the settlers, that a brief sketch of them seems very desirable. To determine the location of all the early trails would no doubt be impossible. It may be sufficient to say that there were trails along all the important, and many of the smaller streams, and along the shores of the lakes, and from the headwaters of one stream to those of another. Many of the minor trails were being constantly changed—old ones abandoned and new ones made—as the locations of Indian villages were changed or a tribe moved from one locality to another, but the great trails remained substantially the same for centuries. By constant travel not only were distinct paths worn, but they were from twelve to eighteen inches deep, varying with the nature of the soil. One can get something of an idea of their appearance by noticing the paths worn in villages where people cut across a vacant lot. Note what a path is made in a few years and consider what it would become if used for centuries, and how much deeper it would be worn in the softer soil of a forest where the ground does not so readily become dry and hard.

The age of many of the old trails is to a considerable degree a matter of guesswork. It is certain that there were

trails along the Mohawk and Susquehanna rivers long before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, and that missionaries had followed the trail along the Susquehanna for more than a century before the Revolution.

The trails were usually on the higher ground because the underbrush was less dense, the ground dried sooner after a storm, and they were less likely to be obstructed by snow in the winter, though at times the trail passed over lower ground in order to shorten the distance or secure a better grade. Often the large trees along the trail bore hatchet marks. It is quite remarkable that savages should have been able to locate a trail through a primeval forest so wisely that modern road-makers have not been able to make many improvements, either in the way of shortening the distance or securing a better grade.

With a few exceptions the cities and the larger villages of the state, west of the Hudson River, have been located on old Indian trails. Most of the railroads of the state follow old Indian trails pretty closely. From 1790 to 1800, when there was a great movement of population to the west, a score or two of taverns sprung up on the route taken by those early pioneers, all of them on old Indian trails.

The Great Central Trail.—The Great Central Iroquois Trail always has been, and always must be, one of the great national highways of the continent. This trail led from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. It began at Albany and led directly across the country to Schenectady. From this point to Rome there were two trails, one on each side of the river. That on the south side was most largely used, as the three Mohawk castles or villages were on that side, one at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek, one at Canajoharie, and the third at the town of Danube, Herkimer, nearly opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek. The trail led through these villages as well as through Fort Plain, Utica and Whitesboro. The trail on the north bank left the river at Tribes Hill and led to Johnstown, then back to the river near Fonda, from which point it led west passing through Little Falls, and

joining the trail that ran along the south side of the river at Rome.

Rome was a very important point. It was not only the terminus of the double trail along the Mohawk, but it was the point from which began the short portage to Wood Creek; and down to and through Oneida Lake, and down the Oswego River was the route to Oswego, another very important point in the early days.

There was only one trail leading from Rome to the west. It first passed to the southwest through Verona to Oneida Castle, where the principal village of the Oneidas was located. From this place it led to Canastota, crossed the Chittenango Creek near Chittenango, passed near Manlius, crossed the Jamesville Creek at Jamesville, and led to Onondaga Hollow in the heart of the Onondaga country. This valley was the favorite part of the Onondaga country, and the location of the center of government of the League of the Iroquois.

In leaving the Onondaga Valley, the trail crossed the Nine Mile Creek at Camillus, passed through the town of Sennet to the site of the city of Auburn. From here the Indians sometimes passed down Cayuga Lake to a point near Union Springs where there was a Cayuga village, and crossed the lake in canoes to another Indian village on the western shore, and on to the main trail. At other times they passed nearly directly west, followed down the Cayuga Lake for some four miles, crossed its outlet, came out on the north bank of the Seneca River, and passed to the westward through Waterloo to Geneva. A short distance from Geneva was the principal town of the Seneca Nation, sometimes called Seneca Castle, at others, Kanedesaga. From Geneva the trail led through the towns of Seneca and Hopewell to Canandaigua, the site of an Indian village. Here the trail branched. The most used one passed through West Bloomfield to an Indian village where the village of Lima is now. From there it proceeded westward through Avon, and crossed the Genesee a little above the Avon bridge. Then it led northwest to the Caledonia Cold Spring, a well-known Iroquois stopping-

place, then on through Le Roy near Stafford, and finally reached Tonawanda Creek about a mile above Batavia, then went down the stream to Batavia, northwest to Caryville, again to Tonawanda Creek at "Washington's fording place," and on to Tonawanda. From this place it passed through Akron, Clarence Hollow, Williamsville and Cold Spring, and to the terminal of the trail at Buffalo.

Branches of the Central Trail.—From Canandaigua one branch led to Irondequoit Bay, and connected with the Ontario Ridge Trail; another passed through the town of Bristol to Honeoye Lake, in sight of Hemlock Lake, near the north end of Conesus Lake, and on to Little Beard's Town on the Genesee River near Geneseo.

From Batavia a branch of the Central Trail passed to the northwest, going near Royalton, on to Cold Spring, and intersected the Ontario Ridge Trail two miles northeast of Lockport.

An important trail led from Oswego to Lewiston following the ridge which probably marks the shore of the ancient lake. This ridge is from three to six miles from the present shore line. This trail led from Oswego to Irondequoit Bay, then to Rochester and on west to Lewiston, passing through or near the towns of Brockport, Albion, Medina and Lockport. In the early days, Oswego was a place of great importance, being the eastern terminus of the Ontario trail and the northern terminus of trails leading from the Onondaga and the Oneida country. It was the point from which expeditions started for places along the lake, or on the northern shore, or down the St. Lawrence.

From Rochester there were two trails up the Genesee, one on each side of the river. That on the west side passed through a Seneca village at Scottsville, a Tuscarora village on the flat two or three miles below Cuylerville, a Seneca village a mile north of Cuylerville, to Little Beard's Town on the flat in front of Cuylerville, on the opposite side of the valley from Geneseo. There was also an Indian village at Moscow, a little to the southwest of Cuylerville. The trail

continued on up the river to a place opposite Mount Morris, crossed the outlet of Silver Lake to an Indian village in the town of Castile, and up to the side of Portage to an Indian village in the town of Hume, Allegheny County, near the junction of the Portage Creek with the Genesee. This trail up the Genesee was one of the routes to the headwaters of the Allegheny River down which parties went on their way to the Ohio Valley. The trail on the east side of the Genesee followed the river to Mount Morris, where there was a small Indian village. From that point two trails led up the Cassadaga Creek, one on each side, to a small Indian village at Dansville.

Another trail led along the shore of Lake Erie, and, from this, one led to Chautauqua Lake, down it to the Conewango River—a branch of the Allegheny—thus affording another route to the Ohio Valley.

Still another trail led from Little Beard's Town on the Genesee by the way of the Caneseraga Creek and a short carry, to the Cohocton, and down it to the Chemung, intercepting the Great Southern Trail.

The Great Southern Trail.—The Great Susquehanna, or Southern, Trail was second in importance only to the Great Iroquois Trail. The most important point on this trail was at Tioga, at the junction of the Chemung and the Susquehanna rivers. A large number of trails from the east, the north, and the west, converged and met at Tioga. Those in the east, on the Susquehanna and its branches, and those on the Chemung and its tributaries, all led to Tioga. There were trails on each side of Seneca and Cayuga lakes, and from the southern extremity of each lake there was a trail leading to the south and connecting with the Southern Trail, and so leading to Tioga. The Susquehanna and its branches penetrated the country of the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas, while the Chemung led into the Seneca country, making Tioga a great central point for all the people of the Five Nations, as the trails from Seneca and Cayuga lakes opened the way to the country of the Cayugas.

From Tioga there were two trails passing up the Susquehanna, one on either bank. The one on the north side passed through Owego and Binghamton and, at Unadilla, intersected the Oneida trail which led from the headwaters of the Unadilla River to its junction with the Susquehanna. Passing on up the river, the trail led to Otsego Lake, Cherry Valley, and on to Canajoharie on the Mohawk. A branch trail followed the Charlotte River and, from the headwaters of that stream, crossed to Cobleskill, down the Cobleskill Creek to its intersection with Schoharie Creek, where it joined the Schoharie trail that led down that stream to its junction with the Mohawk at Fort Hunter. From Schoharie a branch of the trail went up Foxes Creek, crossed the Helderberg hills and entered Albany. Another branch led from Schoharie to the headwaters of the Catskill Creek and down that stream to the Hudson.

The Northern Trail.—One trail led from Ticonderoga up Lake George and from the site of Fort William Henry to the Hudson River a little to the west of Glens Falls, on through the towns of Moreau and Wilton, through the pass to the south of Mt. McGregor, then southeast through Galway, to the Mohawk Valley a little to the west of Amsterdam. This was known as the Kayaderosseras Trail.

Another trail led from Whitehall at the head of Lake Champlain to Fort Edward on the Hudson, following Wood Creek so far as practicable. From Fort Edward it followed the Hudson to Schuylerville, then up Fish Creek to Saratoga Lake, up the Kayaderosseras Creek to Mornings Kill, over a short carry to Ballston Lake, then over another carry to Eel Creek, and down this to the Mohawk. This was called the Saratoga Trail and was very old, having been used long before the coming of the white men.

There was also a trail leading from Fort Edward to Lake George, passing near Glens Falls and through French Mountain. Another led from Schuylerville by an easy route over into the valley of the Connecticut.

The western Iroquois usually went to Canada by the way

of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, but the eastern nations had several routes to Montreal. The favorite trail was by the way of Lake George, which was reached by the way of Schenectady, or the route by the Sacandaga River. Sometimes they went west of the Adirondacks to the headwaters of the Oswegatchie River, and down that to Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence. Another western route was by the way of the Fulton chain of lakes and down the Raquette River to the St. Lawrence, or through the Fulton chain and down the Saranac River to Lake Champlain at Plattsburg.

In any Indian locality there are many minor trails but they are of interest to the locality only, and someone in each locality should make a special study of these. If each locality could be studied by someone specially interested in the matter and a map made and published so as to afford an opportunity for exchanges, it would be a very interesting and helpful work.

In preparing the preceding chapter the following authorities were consulted and acknowledgments are hereby rendered for assistance received:

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IX

NEW YORK IN THE REVOLUTION

The situation of New York among her sister colonies; her physical features, having in the Hudson River the only navigable stream flowing through the Appalachian mountain system to the sea; in Lakes George and Champlain the easiest route to Canada; in the Mohawk Valley an open door to the west; and in the many streams having their sources within her borders, easy communication with her sister colonies; the Six Nations on her frontier; at the mouth of the Hudson, New York Harbor; easily held and controlled by the British by means of her fleets—all tended to make New York the center of conflict.

The first blood spilled in the struggle for liberty was at the Battle of Golden Hill in New York City, January 19 and 20, 1770—nearly two months before the Boston Massacre—the two occurrences being similar in character, each a street quarrel between the Sons of Liberty and the British soldiers.

The decisive battle of the Revolution was fought at Saratoga and the bloodiest battle of the war was a part of the same campaign and was fought at Oriskany. The last battle of the Revolution was fought at Johnstown, New York, a few days after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Notwithstanding the fact that there were more Tories in New York than in any other colony, she furnished 51,979 troops for the patriot army—many more than were furnished by any other colony with the exception of Massachusetts, though Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as Massachusetts, exceeded New York in population.

The first forts captured from the British during the Revolution were Ticonderoga and Crown Point and the supplies

taken there made the successful siege of Boston possible. These forts were taken on the 10th and 12th of May, 1775.

The first attempt to construct a navy was made by Arnold on Lake Champlain in June, 1775.

Among the other military events of importance that took place in the state of New York during the Revolution were:

1.—The fitting-out of an expedition to Canada which resulted in the capture of St. Johns, September 25, 1775, which was followed by the capture of Montreal and the disaster at Quebec.

2.—The expedition to Johnstown, resulting in the capture of three hundred armed Scotch Highlanders, January 19, 1776.

3.—The Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776.

4.—The Battle of Harlem Plains, September 16, 1776.

5.—The Battle of White Plains, October 28, 1776.

6.—Naval Battle on Lake Champlain, October 11-13, 1776.

7.—The attack upon and capture of Fort Washington, November 16, 1776.

8.—Battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777.

9.—Battle of Bennington (fought in New York) August 16, 1777.

10.—Battle of Saratoga, September 19, October 7, 1777.

11.—Surrender of Burgoyne at Schuylerville, October 17, 1777.

12.—Sir Henry Clinton's expedition up the Hudson, and the burning of Kingston, October, 1777.

13.—Johnson's Indian Raid through the Susquehanna, Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, 1778.

14.—Sir Henry Clinton's second expedition up the Hudson.

15.—Mad Anthony Wayne's capture of Stony Point, July 15, 1779.

16.—Colonel Willett's and Van Schaick's expedition

against the Onondagas and the retaliatory raids of the Indians, 1779.

17.—Sullivan's expedition against the Cayugas and Senecas, and the Battle of Newtown, 1779.

18.—Johnson's raid into the Mohawk Valley and his pursuit by General Van Rensselaer, 1780.

19.—The extended raid of Johnson, Brant and Cornplanter, 1780.

20.—Carleton's raid on the upper Hudson, 1780.

21.—The Battle of Johnstown, October 22, 1781.

It will be noted that, from the beginning of the Revolution till the close of that war, peace was unknown to the people of New York. This was not the case with the people of any of the other colonies. They all had their breathing spells and some of them suffered the presence of an armed foe for only a single campaign, but the people of New York had no rest from the capture of Ticonderoga till the last shot was fired. In the other colonies war ceased with the surrender of Cornwallis but the border warfare continued in New York for a year and a half after that.

It is not the purpose of the author of this work to consider all the military movements with which New York was concerned. Space will not permit that. Only a few of the more important events can be presented.

In writing the preceding introductory statements I have consulted and made use of "New York in the Revolution," by James A. Roberts.

X

NEW YORK IN THE BORDER WARS

The whole confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against us. They hung like the scythe of death upon the rear of our settlements, and their deeds are inscribed with the scalping-knife and tomahawk, in characters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, and on the banks of the Mohawk.

DeWitt Clinton.

No other colony suffered from the border wars of the Revolution as did New York and, within that colony, the greatest sufferers were in the valleys of the Schoharie and the Mohawk. No pen can tell the horrors of the New York frontiers during the Revolution. Had the League of the Iroquois espoused the cause of the colonies, or had it remained strictly neutral, all the horrors of the border warfare would have been prevented but, on the other hand, in that case there would have been no justification in taking the lands of the Indians at the close of the war. The settlement of the great West would have been retarded and the building of the Erie Canal would have been delayed, or perhaps never accomplished, preventing or delaying the development of the commercial supremacy of New York. A long delay in the building of the Erie Canal might have resulted in the establishment of commercial channels other than those of the Hudson River and the Mohawk Valley, so it often happens that that which seems wholly evil, in the long run proves beneficial in unexpected and unforeseen ways.

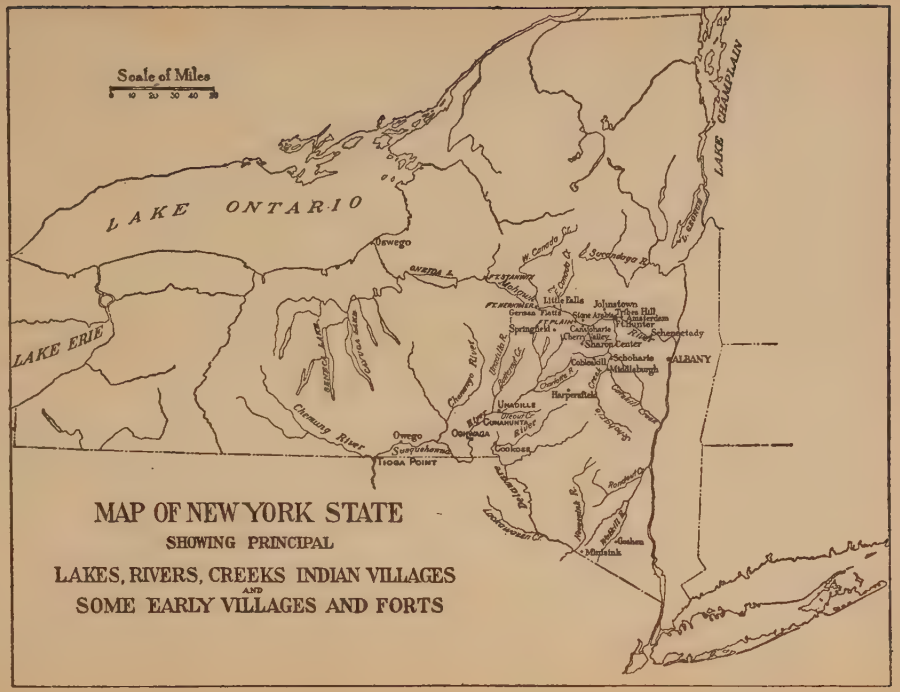
The reader's attention is invited to a brief account of some of the more important events of the border wars in

New York, and to some characteristic and interesting minor events.

Sir William Johnson, who did so much for the upbuilding of the colony, at the same time put serious obstacles in the way of the success of the patriots during the Revolution. His influence over the Iroquois was almost unlimited and, to a large extent, his son, Sir John Johnson, inherited it. The Indians had come to consider that they were the closest allies of Great Britain and it was only to be expected that they would side with that country in the struggle between it and the colonies. Then Johnson had brought over a large body of Scotch Highlanders and Irish who also were, as a matter of course, loyal to the mother country. To oppose these were the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley and some others. The population of the valley was not far from equally divided between the Tories and the Whigs, and as there is no war so bitter, so cruel, so relentless as a civil war, it was natural that the cruelties of the warfare in the valley of the Mohawk and the adjacent territory would be bitter and relentless. During almost all of the Revolution, the Tories and Indians had a rendezvous at Oghwaga on the Susquehanna, from which place they made a series of attacks on the frontier settlements. Of more than a hundred Whig families on the Susquehanna above Lackawanna not one remained. Cobleskill, Springfield, Andrustown, German Flatts and Cherry Valley suffered in quick succession.

Cobleskill, May 30, 1778.—Cobleskill, a little settlement of about twenty families, was situated on the Cobleskill Creek, about ten miles west of Schoharie. It is probable that the inhabitants were all Whigs. There was no fort at Cobleskill, but the inhabitants had formed a military company for their own protection and chosen Christian Brown for their captain.

The latter part of May several Indian stragglers were seen and the inhabitants, fearing an attack, sent to Middleburgh for assistance. Captain Patrick, with a company of Continental soldiers, arrived on the 26th and four days later there was a conflict with the savages. The troops saw a small



MAP OF NEW YORK STATE

SHOWING PRINCIPAL

LAKES, RIVERS, CREEKS INDIAN VILLAGES

AND

SOME EARLY VILLAGES AND FORTS

party of Indians and marched out to attack them. The Indians fell back, closely pursued by the troops, till the latter found themselves surrounded by some three hundred and fifty savages under the command of Joseph Brant. The fighting was carried on Indian fashion, each man for himself, seeking such protection as could be found behind trees or other obstacles. Being so greatly outnumbered, the soldiers who were not killed were soon driven from the field. Of the forty-five soldiers, twenty-two were killed, twenty-one escaped, and two were missing. The settlers who fled to Schoharie were aided in their escape by a few soldiers who occupied a vacant house and held the enemy in check. Being unable to dislodge these men, the Indians set fire to the house and the soldiers were burned to death. The loss of the Indians was supposed to have been greater than that of the soldiers, but the latter were repulsed and all the houses in the place were plundered and burned.

Andrustown, July 18, 1778.—Andrustown, a little hamlet of seven families, about six miles southeast of German Flatts, in the present town of Warren, Herkimer County, was attacked by Brant and a small party of Indians on the 18th of July, 1778. All the buildings were burned, four of the inhabitants were killed, and two carried off as prisoners.

Springfield, June 18, 1778.—Springfield was a little settlement at the head of Otsego Lake, ten miles from Cherry Valley. It was attacked by Brant on the 18th of June and all the houses burned but one. In that he collected the women and children and left them uninjured. Eight men were killed and fourteen made prisoners. With the exception of the house named, all the buildings of the settlement were destroyed, as well as wagons, plows and other farming utensils. Over two hundred domestic animals were driven off.

German Flatts, September 17, 1778.—German Flatts, originally called Burnetsfield because the patent was granted by Governor Burnet, was nearly opposite the mouth of West Canada Creek. There was a settlement on each side of the

Mohawk, that on the south being Fort Herkimer and the one on the north, Fort Dayton, which occupied the site of the present village of Herkimer. Brant had been at Unadilla for some time and the people of German Flatts had been warned that they were to be attacked. About the middle of September, four scouts were sent out to learn, if possible, the intentions of Brant. They met the Indians at Edmeston. Three of the scouts were killed. The fourth, John Helmer, escaped and reached German Flatts with the information that Brant was close at hand, giving just sufficient warning to enable the inhabitants to reach the forts. At that time the forts in the Mohawk Valley were simple affairs, rather places of refuge than for protracted defense. They usually mounted a few very small cannon whose chief use was to sound a warning to distant settlers.

Soon after the warning of Helmer, Brant with about three hundred and fifty Tories and Indians encamped for the night in a ravine on the outskirts of the settlement. Although he was ignorant of the fact that the people had been warned of his coming, Brant was astir before daylight, and at the break of day the whole valley was ablaze with burning buildings. Not a building was left for ten miles along the river. The destruction was thorough and complete. Not a single domestic animal was left. More than a thousand were driven off. Not a stack of hay or grain was spared. Sixty-three horses, fifty-seven barns, three gristmills and two sawmills, with all their contents, were reduced to ashes. No attempt was made to capture the forts, and the savages left without scalps or prisoners.

Three or four hundred militia gathered and followed Brant as far as Edmeston, where the bodies of the three murdered scouts were found and buried. The party decided that further pursuit was useless and returned, but some friendly Oneidas went as far as Unadilla Valley, burned the houses of some Tories, took several prisoners and brought back some of the cattle that had been driven away from German Flatts.

Burning of Unadilla, October 10, 1778. — Unadilla had long been a Tory and Indian rendezvous. All the patriots had been driven from the place. It was a gathering place for Indians and Tories on their way to attack the frontier settlements. The Tories who had fled from the Mohawk and the Schoharie valleys made the upper Susquehanna the basis of their operations against the frontier and under the leadership of Sir John Johnson, the Butlers, and Brant, wrought their work of destruction. The upper Susquehanna has had a most interesting history. It was one of the most important trails leading into Pennsylvania from the territory of the Six Nations. It was the route taken by the early pioneers and missionaries. It was one of the principal pathways of the Tories and Indians during the Revolution, and the course of General Clinton on his way to join Sullivan on his expedition to the valley of the Genesee. At the close of the Revolution it became the favorite route to the "Southern Tier." About 1800 Unadilla became the terminus of two great turnpikes, one coming from the Hudson River at Catskill, and the other from Ithaca at the head of Cayuga Lake. These turnpikes were the route for a very extensive trade.

The people of the frontier felt that their safety and comfort demanded the destruction of Unadilla. Colonel William Butler (not one of the notorious Butlers of the Mohawk Valley) was stationed at Schoharie with his regiment of Scotch-Irish and four companies of Morgan's riflemen. He was authorized to attack Unadilla in case he found it a feasible thing to do. Therefore, on the 20th of September, he sent out four scouts who reported that the enemy had three hundred men at Unadilla, four hundred at Oghwaga and an unknown number at Tioga Point. Butler had about five hundred men. He decided on a movement against Unadilla. He crossed from Schoharie to the west branch of the Delaware, then to the head of Oleout Creek which empties into the Susquehanna near Unadilla, then marched down the Susquehanna to Oghwaga, a well-built Indian town of about forty houses. These with the household furniture,

and a large quantity of Indian corn, were burned. Butler then went up the river to Cunahunta, another Indian town, and burned that. On the 10th of October he burned all the houses, except one, on the south side of the river at Unadilla, and the next day those on the north side. He also burned a sawmill and a gristmill, the latter the only one in that part of the country. It was estimated that four thousand bushels of corn were destroyed.

Cherry Valley, November 11, 1778.—John Lindesay, who had been naval officer of the port of New York, and sheriff of the County of Albany, in 1738, obtained a grant for eighteen thousand acres of land at Cherry Valley. It was first called Lindesay's Bush in honor of its owner but later its name was changed because of the great number of wild-cherry trees growing there. Cherry Valley was the wealthiest settlement in all that section of the country, as well as the most important point on the trail leading from Canajoharie to the upper Susquehanna Valley. It was over this trail that Sir William Johnson carried his supplies and furs when he had a trading post at Oghwaga on the Susquehanna. In the early days all the territory southwest of Canajoharie was known as Cherry Valley; Otsego Lake was called Cherry Valley Lake, and the road built in course of time was called the Cherry Valley Road. Little settlements grew up on Otsego Lake, Butternut Creek, the Unadilla and Charlotte rivers, and along the upper Susquehanna.

At the time of the massacre there were about sixty families at Cherry Valley. In 1777 a fort was erected for the protection of the inhabitants and, at the earnest request of the settlers, a body of Continental troops commanded by Colonel Ichabod Alden of Massachusetts, was sent to that post. General Hand visited Cherry Valley only a short time before the attack of the Indians, and ordered Colonel Klock who was on the Mohawk, only twenty miles away, to reinforce the garrison at Cherry Valley with two hundred men, not later than the 9th of November. They did not arrive till after the massacre, which their coming on time would have pre-

vented. The delay of Klock has never been satisfactorily explained.

There were frequent warnings of the intended attack and some very definite ones, but Colonel Alden did not credit any of them. Some of the inhabitants became so alarmed that they asked permission to move into the fort, which was refused them. Even Colonel Alden and his officers lodged with some of the settlers instead of sleeping in the fort. Alden promised to send out scouts so that in case the enemy did appear he would be able to give the inhabitants ample warning. And he did send out scouts, who went in the direction from which the enemy was reported to be coming but with a recklessness and indifference that can be accounted for only on the theory that they felt sure there were no enemies in their vicinity, they built a campfire, lay down to sleep and awoke to find themselves prisoners. Of course, they were unable to give the people at Cherry Valley any warning of the coming of the Indians. As a Mr. Hamble, who lived some distance below the village was riding toward it early in the morning, he was fired upon and wounded but kept on and gave the alarm. Even then, Colonel Alden refused to believe that the shot was anything more than the act of some straggling Indian.

The attack of the savages followed so quickly upon the alarm that there was no time to prepare for it. Colonel Alden, whose over-confidence was the cause of the massacre, was staying at the house of Robert Wells. He was among the first to be killed, being tomahawked while on his way to the fort. The whole family of Mr. Wells was murdered with the exception of one son who was at Schenectady at school. A Tory afterward boasted that he killed Mr. Wells while he was on his knees in prayer. No one outside the fort was in condition to offer any resistance. Men, women and children were murdered indiscriminately, or made prisoners according to the mood of the Tories and Indians. There were many cases of extreme barbarity that made the massacre one ever to be remembered and its perpetrators to be execrated for all time.

The infamous Walter Butler was the commander of the expedition and the instigator of the movement. Brant was with the attacking force but he was a Mohawk, and most of the Indians were Senecas over whom he had no power and but little influence. There is evidence that he exerted himself to save several lives. The Senecas, the most ferocious of the Six Nations, led the attack. Many of the Tories were even more cruel than they. The attacking force consisted of about seven hundred—more than twice the number of the troops in the fort. The soldiers were not strong enough to attempt a sortie. The Indians attacked the fort several times but were received with such an effective fire from the garrison that they finally abandoned all efforts to capture it and contented themselves with plundering the settlement and murdering its inhabitants. Mothers were slaughtered while endeavoring to protect their children. Little babes were ruthlessly murdered. The horrors of the massacre pass the power of description. Thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were murdered. Twelve of the Continentals were killed. Thirty or forty of the inhabitants were carried away as prisoners.

That Indians would be barbarous in war was to be expected but the Senecas, the most savage of the Six Nations, were far outdone in cruelty by Butler and his Tory rangers. Butler sought the command of this expedition that he might revenge himself for his imprisonment at Albany. No one has ever attempted to excuse his conduct on this occasion, or even to present any extenuating circumstances. No one who ever lived in this state was ever so thoroughly detested as he and, so long as the history of the border wars continues to be known, Walter Butler will be abhorred by all.

Minisink, July 20, 1779.—Minisink is about ten miles northwest of Goshen and was settled in 1669. It suffered from Indian raids early in its history and, for more than a century, the people of that vicinity were more or less familiar with border warfare.

Sullivan's expedition against the Cayugas and Senecas

took place in 1779. It was a great task to gather five thousand men and prepare for a march of four hundred miles through an unbroken and trackless forest. General Clinton was to come down the Susquehanna and join Sullivan. While waiting at Albany he sent Colonel Van Schaick with five hundred and fifty-eight men into the country of the Onondagas to punish them as the Cayugas and Senecas were to be punished later. Twelve of the Indians were killed and thirty-nine prisoners were taken. About one hundred guns were captured and all the property of the Indians was destroyed so far as possible. Fifty Indian houses were destroyed and the corn, stock, and other property of the Indians suffered the fate of their homes.

While Colonel Van Schaick was in the Onondaga country small parties of Indians were making raids all along the frontier, along the Mohawk, in the Schoharie and Delaware valleys, at Lackawaxen, Schoharie, Sharon Center, Stone Arabia and near Forts Dayton and Plain.

With the opening of summer, Brant appeared at Oghwaga and Unadilla with a large force, probably not fewer than fifteen hundred men. Colonel Butler's destruction of those towns the fall before made a great scarcity of food in that section and it was necessary to reach out to a more prosperous country.

Partly in revenge for the destruction of Unadilla, partly as a retaliation for Colonel Van Schaick's incursion into the Onondaga country, partly for the purpose of securing supplies, but chiefly for the purpose of diverting men from Sullivan's command to protect the inhabitants, Brant invaded the Minisink region.

During the year 1779 the frontier towns of Ulster suffered severely. On the 4th of May a party of Butler's rangers killed about a dozen people at Fantine-kill, six of whom were burned in their homes, and burned four houses and five barns. The Tories were pursued by Colonel Philip Van Courtlandt who was stationed at Wawarsing with a New York regiment, but he was unable to overtake the enemy. He had hardly

abandoned their pursuit before they attacked Woodstock, near Kingston, burning several houses and taking some prisoners.

During the previous winter, Pulaski with his cavalry had been stationed at Minisink, but in February he was ordered to join General Lincoln in South Carolina. Therefore, that part of the country had no protection other than its own people could furnish and many of those were absent in the army.

Early in July, Brant with two hundred and fifty Indians and Tories invaded the Delaware country, killed several men, took a few prisoners and drove off cattle, sheep and hogs. On the night of the 19th of July, Brant, with a party of sixty Indians and twenty-seven Tories, disguised as Indians, stole in upon Minisink so silently that several of the houses were in flames before the inhabitants suspected the presence of an enemy. Ten houses and twelve barns were burned, as well as a church, a small stockade fort and two mills. Several persons were killed and others carried off as prisoners. The farms of the settlement were laid waste and all the property that the savages could not carry with them was destroyed. Brant then hastened to join the main body of his warriors at Grassy Brook.

As soon as fugitives from Minisink brought to Goshen the news of the raid, Dr. Tusten, the colonel of the local militia, ordered the officers of his command to meet him at Minisink the following day bringing as many of their men with them as possible. One hundred and forty-nine men reported. Among them were some of the foremost men of the county. A council was held. Colonel Tusten was in favor of waiting for reinforcements as were some of the others, because it was believed that Brant's force was superior to theirs and he was a leader of unusual ability and had with him Tories who were thoroughly familiar with the country, but the majority were in favor of an immediate advance claiming that the Indians would not fight, and when in the height of the discussion Major Meeker mounted his horse, waved his sword and called out: "Let the brave men follow me, the

cowards may stay behind," everyone followed. It was one more illustration of the folly of being controlled by thoughtless courage rather than by wise discretion. On the morning of the 22d they were joined by Colonel Hathorn of the Warwick regiment with a few men. Being the senior officer, Colonel Hathorn took command. At Half-Way Brook they found the Indian encampment of the previous night. Its extent and the number of fires showed conclusively that the Indians greatly outnumbered them and another council was held. Colonels Hathorn, Tusten and some others were opposed to advancing further but bravado controlled as before. The next morning the Indians were seen marching toward the Delaware River with the evident idea of fording it near the mouth of the Lackawaxen. Colonel Hathorn determined to attack the Indians at the fording place. As the patriots marched toward the river, Brant threw a force to their rear and was thereby enabled to choose his position for the conflict. As the patriots were crossing a creek, they broke their order and, before they were again in position, Brant sounded the war whoop and the slaughter began. The number engaged was not large but both sides fought with desperate valor and the loss of life was terrible. The conflict was long and obstinate, lasting from late in the forenoon until sundown. The men under Hathorn formed an irregular hollow square so as to face the enemy who completely surrounded them. They were greatly outnumbered and were short of ammunition. There could be only one outcome. The patriots were disastrously beaten and almost annihilated. Of the one hundred and forty-nine who joined the expedition against Brant, only thirty survived the conflict. A single sentence states the truth vividly. That conflict made thirty widows in the little Presbyterian Church at Goshen.

It is believed that the loss of the Indians exceeded that of the whites, reaching, it is supposed, not less than one hundred and fifty. This tragedy steeled the hearts of the men who made up the army of Sullivan to take, as they did, the fullest revenge. The campaign of Sullivan, undertaken

for the purpose of putting a stop to the Indian raids, did not have that effect. The Indians suffered severely the winter following their expulsion from the Genesee Valley. They were thirsting for revenge and the settlers suffered quite as severely as before.

Rheimensnyder's Bush, April 3, 1780.—On the 3d of April, 1780, a party of sixty Tories and Indians attacked Rheimensnyder's Bush—a little settlement a few miles north of Little Falls. There was a small blockhouse there in which the inhabitants gathered at night for safety. The enemy did not capture that but they burned the settlement, including a gristmill, and carried off nineteen prisoners.

Harpersfield, April 5, 1780.—Early in April, 1780, Brant led a small force of Tories and Indians against Harpersfield—a small settlement in the northern part of Delaware County, a little south of the Charlotte River. The larger part of the inhabitants had left the place on account of the Indian depredations, so only a small number of prisoners were taken. A few were killed and the settlement was destroyed.

Captain Alexander Harper, with a party of fourteen militia, was sent to the headwaters of the Charlotte River not very far from Harpersfield. Brant, having destroyed Harpersfield, was on his way to Schoharie with thirty-three warriors and seven Tories. He came upon Harper who, with his men, was engaged in making maple sugar for the garrison while, at the same time, keeping watch upon some suspected parties. Three of Harper's men were killed at their work before Harper suspected the presence of an enemy. Brant rushed up to Harper, tomahawk in hand, saying, "Harper, I am sorry to find you here." "Why are you sorry, Captain Brant?" asked Harper. Brant replied, "Because I must kill you though we were schoolmates in our youth," and he raised his hatchet as though to give the fatal blow, then, with a keen look and suddenly letting his arm fall, he said, "Are there any regular troops in the forts at Schoharie?" Instantly Harper divined the purpose of Brant. To tell the truth would

be to sound the doom of the Schoharie settlements; to deceive Brant was no easy task; to attempt it and fail meant instant death to him and his companions, but without the slightest hesitation he replied that a reinforcement of three hundred Continental troops had arrived two or three days before. This information seemed to disconcert Brant and he called a council of his followers. Harper and his companions were confined and closely watched during the night and, in the morning, Brant questioned Harper very closely, telling him that he was suspicious that he had not told the truth but Harper told so consistent and straightforward a story that Brant abandoned his movement against Schoharie and returned to Niagara, taking Harper and his companions with him.

Little Falls, June, 1780.—Little Falls was a place of some importance because its gristmill furnished flour for the garrisons along the Mohawk Valley. To cut off this supply, a party of Tories and Indians attacked the place which was guarded by only twelve men and therefore unable to offer any defense. The mill was destroyed, one man killed, and several taken prisoners.

Canajoharie, August 2, 1780.—In the summer of 1780, Brant, Johnson, and Butler devastated the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. Colonel Gansevoort, with his regiment, had been detailed to repair Fort Plain and protect the valley, but when he was absent with most of his men to convoy supplies, being sent to Fort Schuyler, Brant appeared and laid waste to the settlements for miles. Before relief could come, Brant had killed twelve of the settlers, captured fifty or sixty, burned one hundred buildings and carried off three hundred domestic animals. Nearly all the houses in Canajoharie were destroyed, as well as a church, a mill and two forts.

The Schoharie Valley, October 16, 1780.—In August, 1780, it was rumored that Johnson was to invade the Mohawk Valley with 2,000 men. Early in September small parties of the enemy were seen in different parts of the valley and

a force of sixty-five men made an unsuccessful attack on Fort Dayton. Later a large force of Indians under Brant and Cornplanter gathered at Tioga Point and marched up the Susquehanna to Unadilla, where they were joined by Johnson with some Mohawk Indians, three companies of the Royal Greens, two hundred of Butler's rangers, a company of German troops and another of British regulars. They had come from Canada by the way of Oswego, Oneida Lake, and the Unadilla River. The united force, which may have numbered a thousand, marched up the Susquehanna and on to Schoharie by the much used route up the Charlotte River, and over the hills to the valley of the Schoharie. There were three forts in the valley—one at Middleburgh, one above it, and a third below. The upper and lower forts were defended by about one hundred men each, while the middle fort had about two hundred and fifty men, about one-third of them being militia. Johnson planned to pass the upper fort and attack the one at Middleburgh which was the strongest, thinking that if he could capture it the others would fall as a matter of course. However, he was seen as he passed the upper fort early in the morning and three warning guns were fired, carrying to all the inhabitants of the valley the news of the invasion, but the warning was too late to be of much service, for the enemy was already scattered through the settlements and at once began the work of destruction.

The middle fort was commanded by Major Woolsey, who was undoubtedly a coward. He wished to surrender without firing a gun, on the first appearance of the enemy. He may have had some reason for this as he was greatly outnumbered and his supply of powder was very limited, but the result showed that a successful defense was possible. The officers of the militia opposed the surrender of the fort and were disposed to make a more desperate defense than the regular troops. Among those in the fort was the noted scout, Timothy Murphy. When, after a vain effort to reduce the fort through the use of a few small cannon that he had, Johnson sent an officer with a flag to demand the surrender of the forces in

the valley, Major Woolsey would have admitted the officer, thus enabling the enemy to discover how small a force they had, and how weak their defense, but Murphy protested and was vigorously supported by the militia. Woolsey insisted and threatened anyone who resisted him, with arrest. In the midst of the controversy, Murphy settled the matter by firing on the bearer of the flag. Twice, later that day, an officer appeared with a flag and on both occasions he was fired upon by Murphy. Woolsey ordered Murphy's arrest but he was so popular that no one would obey the order.

After destroying houses, barns, stacks of hay and grain, and domestic animals, Johnson suddenly withdrew, passed down the valley past the lower fort which he made no attempt to capture though it was defended by only a hundred men, on down the valley to Fort Hunter. Why Johnson left the valley so suddenly is not known. It may be that he believed the defenders to be stronger than they were—the firing on his flag might have given such an impression—or he might have wished to reach the Mohawk Valley before its inhabitants had prepared to defend themselves, or he might have feared the arrival of troops from Albany, or he might have been influenced by some other consideration. The number killed during this invasion was small, but Johnson left a scene of desolation behind him.

In the Mohawk Valley.—Johnson continued his work of destruction on his march down the valley to Fort Hunter, from which place he marched up the Mohawk laying every house in ashes on both sides of the river as far as Fort Plain. Nothing was left that would burn. Colonel John Brown, with a force of one hundred and fifty men, occupied Fort Paris at Stone Arabia, about three miles north of the Mohawk. On the 19th of October, Johnson marched against him.

As soon as it was learned that Johnson was in the valley, General Robert Van Rensselaer of Claverack, accompanied by Governor Clinton, attempted to intercept him. The force under Van Rensselaer was the Claverack, Albany and Schenectady militia. When he reached Caughnawaga, Van Rens-

selaer learned that Johnson was planning to attack Stone Arabia. He ordered Brown to attack him as soon as he appeared in the vicinity and promised that he would promptly attack Johnson in his rear. Brown obeyed orders, attacked a greatly superior force and withstood it pertinaciously until one-third of his men were killed. Brown lost his own life in the stubborn fight, but Van Rensselaer with characteristic lack of promptness failed to appear.

After the defeat of Brown, Johnson broke his force up into small parties and plundered and burned property in all directions, after which his force gathered again at Klock's Field near St. Johnsville. Van Rensselaer was close at hand with a force of fresh men much superior in numbers to the command of Johnson, whose men were weary with forced marches and the burden of heavy loads of plunder. There seemed to be no reason why Van Rensselaer should not capture Johnson's entire force but, instead of forcing matters at once, Van Rensselaer gave the enemy a rest of several hours while he went to Fort Plain for dinner. Late in the day an engagement took place. Johnson's Indian allies fled and his other forces were thrown into confusion and, again, Van Rensselaer missed his opportunity. Instead of pushing matters to the utmost, which we now know would have resulted in the surrender of Johnson's entire force, Van Rensselaer ordered his army to retire for three miles and encamp for the night. Johnson's men thought that all was lost and were about to surrender when this unaccountable movement took place. Van Rensselaer's men were incensed and the Oneidas and Colonel Clyde and Captain M'Kean refused to obey orders, and hung upon the rear of the enemy for several hours and took some prisoners. Johnson crossed to the headwaters of the Unadilla River.

1781.—There were many cases of individual bravery during the border warfare in this state. Two typical ones are given. Captain Solomon Woodworth, who was stationed at Fort Dayton, determined to put a stop to the work of the marauders in his locality. With a force of forty rangers

he set out to reconnoiter the Royal Grant. When about three miles north of Herkimer, he was ambushed by a force twice as large as his. A fierce hand to hand fight followed in which Woodworth and about half of his men were killed. Only fifteen escaped, the others being killed or taken prisoners.

Another case is that of John Christian Shell. Three or four miles north of Fort Dayton was a small German settlement known as Shell's Bush. On the afternoon of the 6th of August, 1781, Donald M'Donald with about sixty Indians and Tories appeared. Most of the inhabitants fled to Fort Dayton for protection, but Shell had built a blockhouse of his own which was two stories high, the second story projecting over the first to afford a better opportunity for defense. Having a good supply of powder, Shell did not purpose to be driven away. When the enemy appeared, Shell and his six sons were in the fields. With the exception of two twin boys about eight years old, they all reached the blockhouse. From two o'clock in the afternoon till dark, Shell and his sons made a vigorous defense. Shell's wife loaded the rifles and he and his sons stood ready to shoot anyone who showed himself. When the attack was abandoned, the enemy had lost eleven killed and six wounded. Several attempts to fire the blockhouse failed; then M'Donald attempted to force open the door with a crowbar but was wounded and drawn into the blockhouse. Once the enemy thrust the muzzles of their guns through the loopholes and fired, and Mrs. Shell rendered their weapons useless by striking them with a heavy axe and bending the barrels. After the attack was abandoned Shell and his family withdrew to Fort Dayton. The two young sons were taken to Canada but returned at the close of the war. The next year Shell was attacked again, but drove off the enemy, though one of his sons was killed and another wounded, and he received wounds from which he died soon after.

Currietown, June 30, 1781.—Currietown, a settlement of twenty or thirty houses, eleven miles below Canajoharie and

three miles back from the Mohawk, was attacked on the 30th of June by a party of three hundred Indians and a few Tories under the command of John Doxstader. The place was burned, several of the inhabitants killed and the remainder made prisoners. Captain M'Kean, with a party of only sixteen men, went to the relief of the place which he reached so promptly that he was able to put out the fire that had not yet destroyed all the buildings. Colonel Willett pursued the enemy and overtook them near Sharon Springs where they were encamped in a dense cedar swamp. Although Willett had only one hundred and fifty men he determined to attack the enemy, trusting to overbalance the discrepancy of the two forces by surprising Doxstader. Failing in this he directed Captain M'Kean to march to the flank of the enemy while Lieutenant Sammons attacked them in the front, then slowly retreated. This movement was successful and the enemy retreated down the Susquehanna, leaving forty dead upon the field.

During all the summer, the enemy was active in Ulster, Schoharie and Herkimer counties, moving in small parties and making frequent attacks on exposed places.

Battle of Johnstown, October 22, 1871.—In October, 1781, Major Ross and Walter Butler invaded the Mohawk Valley. They came from Canada by the way of Oswego and Oneida Lake, leaving their boats at the latter place in charge of a few sick men. They then went to Warren's Bush (near the place where Sir William Johnson made his first home) where they killed two men, burned twenty houses, destroyed a large quantity of grain, and did considerable other damage before Colonel Willett, who was at Fort Rensselaer (Canajoharie) twenty miles away, could come to the relief of the inhabitants. When Willett reached Fort Hunter he learned that Ross had gone to Johnstown. As soon as he could cross the Mohawk, Willett started in pursuit. At this time Ross had about six hundred men made up of regulars, Royal Greens, Butler's Rangers, and Indians.

Willett had about four hundred men. Upon reaching

Johnstown he thought it unwise to make a direct attack upon a force so much superior to his own, so he sent Colonel Harper with a hundred men to march by a circuitous route to the rear of Ross. As soon as the latter had presumably reached the position assigned him, Willett made his attack. The battle was fought on the high ground a little to the north of Johnson Hall, at a place now marked by a bronze tablet mounted on a large bowlder. The battle was a severe one. Ross attacked the enemy in front to divert its attention from Harper's movement. At first everything favored Willett and the prospects for victory were bright when suddenly the militia was seized with an unaccountable panic and broke and fled as far as the stone church where they were met with a reinforcement of two hundred militia and Willett was able to check them. In the meantime, Harper attacked the enemy in the rear and, after a little, Willett rallied his men and again joined in the fight. Soon after sunset the enemy fled in disorder and continued its retreat to the west nearly all the night. Early in the morning Willett followed. He sent a detachment to Oneida Lake by a forced march, to destroy the boats that Ross had left there, so as to cut off his retreat in that direction. Learning from a deserter that Ross planned to go to Stone Arabia for provisions, Willett marched to German Flatts hoping to intercept him but, on reaching that place, he learned that Ross had avoided Stone Arabia and gone farther north, shaping his course for West Canada Creek. With four hundred picked men, sixty Oneidas, and provisions for five days, Willett again started in pursuit of Ross, going up the West Canada Creek in the face of a blinding snowstorm. Late in the afternoon of the next day he overtook a lagging party of Indians, killed a few of them and captured others. Toward evening he overtook the main body of the enemy at Jerseyfield—some twelve miles up West Canada Creek—and a running fight took place in which Walter Butler was killed. The enemy fled again in the night and as Willett had won a complete victory, and had only two days' provisions with him, it was not considered wise to continue

the pursuit, the force of Ross being thoroughly scattered. Therefore, he returned to Dayton.

No two accounts of the manner in which Butler met his death wholly agree, and most of them differ materially. It is not probable that the truth will ever be established to the satisfaction of everyone. No other event of the Revolution caused such joy in the Mohawk Valley as the death of Walter Butler. It is difficult to appreciate the terror, horror and hatred that his mere name inspired.

The surrender of Cornwallis a few days before the Battle of Johnstown really ended the war, though Indians and Tories raided the New York frontier for a year and a half after that.

Throughout all the long struggle for liberty no settler on the Mohawk, or in the Schoharie Valley, or on the headwaters of the Susquehanna or the Delaware, ever retired at night with any assurance that he would not be awakened before morning by the war whoop of hostile Indians. We cannot at this day form any adequate idea of the hardships of those times. It is said that in the sparsely settled territory of the county of Tryon alone 150,000 bushels of wheat were destroyed, 700 buildings were burned, 12,000 farms abandoned, 380 women widowed, and 2,000 children left fatherless.

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XI

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

Burgoyne was at Boston during the time that it was being besieged by Washington. On the evacuation of that city by the British, Burgoyne went to England where, with the King and Lord Germain, he made the plans for the campaign of 1777. All the minute details were provided for and the commanding officers had little or no option. Massachusetts furnished more troops for the American cause than any other colony. New York came next. The people of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were thought to be rather lukewarm supporters of the Declaration of Independence.

Taking these things into consideration, it was thought that if New York could be fully occupied by the British that New England would be completely cut off from her sister colonies at the south and each section could be subdued in turn.

The plan evolved called for three expeditions acting in harmony. Howe had twenty thousand troops in New York. He was to send an army up the Hudson to Albany, taking possession of West Point and all other places of importance on the river, on his way. St. Leger, with a small force, was to go to Oswego by the way of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario, then go up the Oswego River, into and through Oneida Lake, and across a short carry to the headwaters of the Mohawk, and down that valley to Albany. It was expected that the numerous loyalists in the valley would flock to his standard. Burgoyne with a force of eight thousand men was to pass through Lakes Champlain and George, across to the Hudson, and down it to join the other forces at Albany. This would give the British complete control of the colony. The plan seemed easy of accomplishment because of the great

superiority of the British forces in numbers, training and equipment. The Americans could not bring into the field more than one-half as many men as the British had. But there were, after all, many disadvantages on the side of the British. It was essential that the three forces should thoroughly coöperate, and yet communication was very difficult. With Howe in New York, Burgoyne at Fort Edward and St. Leger before Fort Stanwix, not only would coöperation be very difficult but it would be absolutely impossible for reinforcements to be sent from one commander to another in case of need, while Washington at Morristown, Putnam at Peekskill, Schuyler north of Albany, and Gansevoort and Herkimer in the Mohawk Valley, could communicate with each other easily and quickly and one could reinforce the other and, as a matter of fact, did so.

The command of the expedition to come down from Canada would naturally have been given to Sir Guy Carleton, who had administered the affairs in that province most successfully, but he was not liked by Germain; therefore he was passed over and the command given to Sir John Burgoyne—a brave, capable and humane man but somewhat pompous and boastful. He sought prominence and had great confidence in his ability.

The army was concentrated at St. Johns, and there Sir Guy Carleton, Burgoyne, Riedesel, Phillips, Fraser and other officers of rank had a sumptuous dinner together. Wine flowed freely and all was hilarity. As Carleton took his leave he was saluted by the roar of cannon and the various bodies of troops marched back and forth on their way to the place of embarkation. This opening of the campaign was a brilliant spectacle, and it is not to be wondered at that Burgoyne was confidently hopeful and looked forward to a brilliantly successful campaign with its resulting rewards and honors.

Burgoyne's army consisted of about eight thousand men, mostly made up of British regulars and hired troops from Germany. All were trained soldiers who had seen much service. There were a few Canadians and Indians. It was early

in June when Burgoyne left St. Johns. He was so much delayed by contrary winds that he was several days in reaching Cumberland Head, where he halted until his stores and ammunition arrived. He had seven hundred carts and fifteen hundred horses for use in transporting his supplies over portages. From Cumberland Head he went to Bouquet River, where he was joined by four hundred Indians, to whom he gave a war-feast. He addressed them saying that they must carry on their warfare in a civilized manner, bringing their prisoners into camp instead of killing and scalping them, which, of course, they promised to do. Burgoyne knew so little of Indian characteristics that he really believed that he had so arranged matters that there would be no trouble resulting from Indian barbarities. He met with no resistance until he reached Ticonderoga.

Burgoyne had a large train of brass artillery, a full supply of arms, ammunition, and military supplies. The works at Ticonderoga would require ten thousand men for effective defense, and there were only about twenty-five hundred. More than one-third of those were militia, undisciplined, poorly armed and equipped. Ticonderoga was generally considered impregnable, but this was far from being the case. As a matter of fact, it was weak, every point in its line of defense being commanded by Sugar Loaf Hill (Mount Defiance), which was seven hundred and fifty feet high, situated just across the outlet of Lake George. Long before this time Montcalm had declared Ticonderoga to be a trap in which some good man would lose his reputation. When Burgoyne appeared before it, General Arthur St. Clair was in command. He was born in Scotland and was a grandson of the Earl of Roslin. He had served under Amherst at Louisburg and Wolfe at Quebec. He took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was with the army at the surrender of Cornwallis. In 1786 he was a member of Congress and in 1787 the president of that body.

Besides the works at Ticonderoga there was a star fort on Mount Independence across the lake from Ticonderoga, and

water batteries at the foot of the hill, both mounting heavy guns and perfectly commanding the passage of the lake. There was a floating bridge across the lake from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence. On the morning of the 5th of July, the Americans were astonished to see the crest of Mount Defiance dotted with scarlet uniforms, and a battery of eight pieces of artillery in position. Ticonderoga was no longer tenable. The fall of Ticonderoga filled the country with anger and consternation. Schuyler was greatly blamed. Let us see where the fault, if fault there were, lay.

Schuyler, St. Clair, and Gates had all had to do with the place. Horatio Gates was born in England, trained to arms, and served under Braddock in his disastrous campaign for the capture of Fort Duquesne. He never showed any military genius. The temporary reputation he gained at Saratoga was due to the efficient service of others, the previous operations of Schuyler, and the skill and bravery of Arnold and Morgan. Gates had been a companion in arms with Washington during the Braddock campaign. Later when both were Virginia gentlemen and large landed proprietors, Gates sought the friendship of his early associate in military affairs. On the breaking-out of the Revolution, Gates was made adjutant-general with the rank of a brigadier. He was very efficient in organizing the camp at Cambridge and took especial pains to cultivate the goodwill of the New Englanders and to do it at the expense of others, a characteristic of his. He was very emphatic in declaring that New York was wholly wrong in her boundary disputes with New Hampshire and Massachusetts. This, of course, was at the expense of Schuyler, who had been active in pushing the claims of his own state.

Gates was appointed a major-general in May, 1776, and the next month was appointed to the command of the army then operating in Canada. When he reached Albany he learned that the army had retreated and was assembling at Crown Point. As this was in Schuyler's territory the latter claimed the command. If this claim were allowed Gates would

Ticonderoga from Mt. Independence

be under him. Gates contended that his was an independent command. The matter was referred to Congress and after considerable delay that body reported that Ticonderoga and Fort Stanwix with their dependencies were within the department of Schuyler. Gates refused to serve under Schuyler and the command was given to St. Clair. During the time that the matter of jurisdiction was before Congress, Gates was at Ticonderoga. Colonel Trumbull called his attention to Sugar Loaf Mountain and urged the importance of fortifying it. Gates ridiculed the idea. St. Clair had been in command only three weeks before Burgoyne's appearance. He had intended to occupy Sugar Loaf Mountain but did not act promptly enough. Under the circumstances stated, it is hard to see how Schuyler could be blamed, yet this was one of the offenses urged against him, and was made an argument for his removal. Singularly enough, the capture of Ticonderoga instead of helping the British was a large factor in the defeat of Burgoyne.

While Gates was at Ticonderoga he did nothing toward putting the place in a condition for defense, though he knew that a movement against it was threatened. He could not help but know its weakness, yet he went about the country declaring it to be impregnable, thus creating expectations on the part of the people that he must have known could not be realized. One cannot help wondering if this were not a part of a studied plan to discredit Schuyler.

On the 20th of June, Schuyler inspected the forts at Ticonderoga and found a wretched condition of affairs. The clothing of the troops was nearly worn out; there were only a few hundred bayonets, and the supply of military supplies of all kinds was very low. The number of troops was wholly inadequate to properly defend the post. Schuyler went to Albany to hasten the sending of reinforcements. On the first of July he wrote to Colonel Varick saying: "The insufficiency of the garrison at Ticonderoga, the imperfect state of the fortifications, and the want of discipline in the troops give me great cause to apprehend that we shall lose that fortress."

With the British in possession of Mount Defiance the Americans must choose between flight and surrender and decide quickly. The retreat, which was skillfully conducted, began at three o'clock on the morning of the 6th. The entire garrison crossed the bridge to the Vermont shore. Fort Independence was evacuated but, just as the last of the troops left the fort, General De Fermoy, who commanded the forces on Mount Independence, set fire to the house that he had occupied, though that was contrary to very strict orders that had been given. It was a most unfortunate occurrence. The light of the blazing building quickly caught the eyes of the British who were soon in hot pursuit of their fleeing foes. They reached Skenesborough (Whitehall) only two hours later than the Americans—soon enough to capture and destroy mills, storehouses and a great quantity of supplies.

At the very moment that the Americans were landing at Skenesborough, three British regiments were disembarking at the head of South Bay with the intention of occupying the road to Fort Edward. When the British vessels reached Skenesborough, Colonel Long marched his battalion to Fort Anne, a distance of eleven miles. Colonel Hill and Major Forbes followed him with the British regiment and camped for the night within three miles of Fort Anne. General Schuyler promptly sent reinforcements to the fort and early on the morning of the 7th Colonel Long attacked the British and would have defeated them but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from Burgoyne. Colonel Long then burned the fort and retreated to Fort Edward.

St. Clair reached Hubbardton early in the afternoon of the 6th. Leaving Warner with one hundred and fifty men to collect stragglers he went on to Castleton. Colonel Francis soon joined Warner, bringing their combined force up to thirteen hundred men. They resolved to wait for the enemy and give them battle there. As soon as General Fraser appeared, a sharp skirmish took place. Colonel Hale, with about four hundred poorly disciplined men, fled in the direction of Castleton, leaving Francis and Warner with nine hun-

dred men to meet Fraser, who had about the same number. The action that took place was a spirited one and the outcome was doubtful till Riedesel appeared with fresh troops, when the Americans gave way, some going to Rutland, and others over the mountains to Pittsford. The American loss in the action was less than that of the British, but the later capture of Hale's regiment during its retreat made the total loss of the Americans exceed that of the British.

When St. Clair learned of the capture of Skenesborough, he left Castleton, found some of Warner's men at Rutland, and retreated, by the way of Manchester and the Battenkill, to the Hudson, and joined Schuyler at Fort Edward. St. Clair was tried by a court-martial for the surrender of Ticonderoga but was unanimously acquitted of all blame. The surrender of the fort also led to a court of inquiry as to the conduct of Schuyler in the matter of the loss of Ticonderoga, which resulted in a report saying that "Major-General Philip Schuyler was not guilty of neglect of duty and is acquitted with the highest honor." Burgoyne established his headquarters at Skenesborough and waited to perfect the organizations of his army for a further advance.

Philip Schuyler was the most distinguished member of one of the most distinguished families of New York. He had had a long and varied service in the French and Indian wars, performing all the duties assigned him with marked ability. He acted for the state of New York in settling the boundary troubles between New York on the one hand and New Hampshire and Massachusetts on the other, and, in the performance of that duty, incurred the hostility of New England. In this connection the following is of interest. Daniel Webster once said to a grandson of Philip Schuyler: "When a life of your grandfather is to be published I should like to write a preface. I was brought up with New England prejudices against him, but I consider him second only to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the Revolution. His zeal and devotion to the cause, under difficulties which would have paralyzed the efforts of most

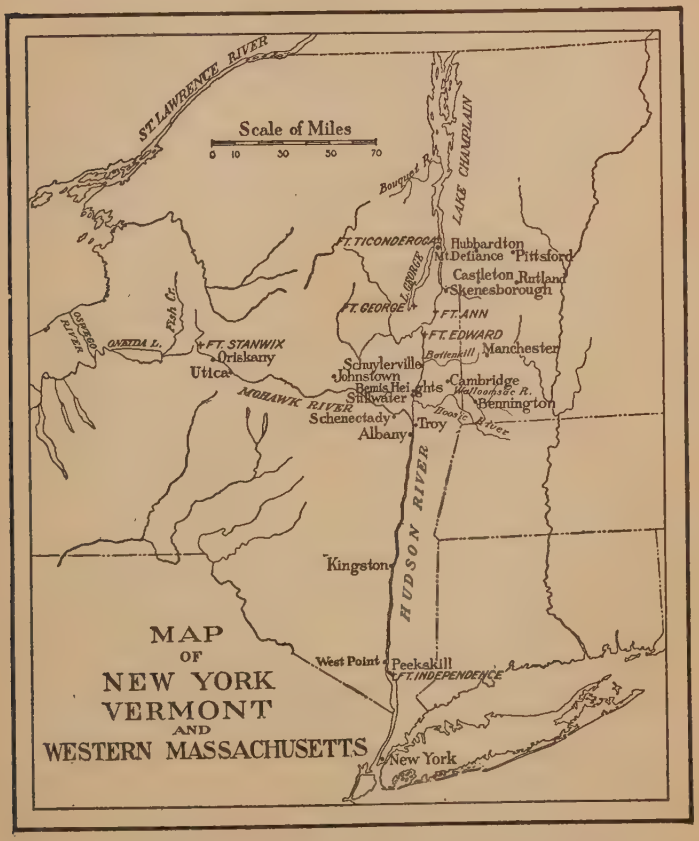
men, his fortitude and courage when assailed by malicious attacks upon his private and public character, every one of which was proved to be false, have impressed me with a strong desire to express publicly my sense of his great qualities." Chief Justice Kent, in writing of Schuyler, said: "In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior."

The historian Fiske, a New Englander, says of Schuyler:

His family was one of the most distinguished in New York, and an inherited zeal for the public service thrilled every drop of his blood. No more upright or disinterested man could be found in America, and for bravery and generosity he was like the paladin of some medieval romance. In spite of these fine qualities he was bitterly hated by the New England men, who formed a considerable portion of his army. Besides the general stupid dislike which the people of New York and New England then felt for each other, echoes of which are still sometimes heard nowadays, there was a special reason for the odium which was heaped upon Schuyler. The dispute over the possession of Vermont had now raged fiercely for thirteen years and Schuyler, as a member of the New York Legislature, had naturally been zealous in urging the claims of his own state. For this crime the men of New England were never able to forgive him, and he was pursued with vindictive hatred until his career as a general was ruined. His orders were obeyed with sullenness, the worst interpretation was put upon every one of his acts, and evil-minded busybodies were continually pouring into the ears of Congress a stream of tattle, which gradually wore out their trust in him.

Having obtained as clear an idea as may be of the personalities concerned, let us resume the consideration of the campaign. On the 10th of July, Schuyler began a systematic effort to obtain all the livestock and supplies in the territory threatened by Burgoyne and to make the route from Skenesborough to Fort Edward as nearly impassable as possible. The country was a labyrinth of swamps and small creeks. The latter were choked with fallen trees so as to overflow the

adjoining country. Wood Creek, which was navigable for batteaux as far as Fort Anne, was filled with great trees felled so as to lie at every possible angle. The various streams



were dammed to overflow the country. The roads, poor at best, were rendered impassable by fallen trees hopelessly intertangled. All bridges were destroyed.

In making his way from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, Burgoyne was compelled to build many bridges and lay miles

of corduroy road—road that in some instances had to be elevated on supports in order to prevent heavy loads sinking in the mud. This made his progress painfully slow. He was twenty-four days in going twenty-six miles.

Before Burgoyne left England, it was agreed that he should go to the Hudson River by the way of Lake George, and that the South Bay and Skenesborough route should be avoided on all accounts, but he seemingly planned to drive himself to take the route which had been declared undesirable. He made it impossible for the Americans to retreat by the way of Lake George and left the Lake Champlain route open to them, and when the British occupation of Mount Defiance made their retreat necessary, they took the only route that was open to them and Burgoyne followed. When he reached Skenesborough he was so near the Hudson River that he was unwilling to return to Ticonderoga and take the Lake George route. This was probably a fatal error on his part. It has been suspected that Major Philip Skene, whose home was at Skenesborough, was interested in having Burgoyne open a good road to Fort Edward, and that he persuaded him that in following that route he would attract a large number of Loyalists to his standard.

Whatever his reason may have been, Burgoyne chose the way that delayed him so long that the Americans had time to somewhat recover from the fright and despondency into which they were thrown by the loss of Ticonderoga.

On the 10th of July Burgoyne issued a general order in which he said: "The rebels evacuated Ticonderoga on the 6th, having been forced into the matter by the presence of our army. On this side of the lake they ran as far as Skenesborough, on the other as far as Hubbardton. They left behind all their artillery, provisions and baggage." He summoned the people of certain named townships to return to their allegiance, making "Colonel Skene" the representative of the Crown in their behalf and fixing the 15th of the month as the date of such submission "under penalty of military execution on failure to pay obedience to such order."

On the 13th Schuyler issued a proclamation in reply to Burgoyne's utterance, in which he declared, "all to be traitors who should in any way assist, give comfort to, or hold correspondence with, or take protection from the enemy" and commanded "all officers, civil and military, to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such offenders." He closed with the demand that "the militia of the townships to which General Burgoyne's circular was addressed, who had not marched, should do so without delay, and join his army, or some detachment thereof."

When Burgoyne approached Fort Edward, Schuyler withdrew to Moses' Creek, four miles south of Fort Edward. At this time he wrote that "he believed the enemy would not see Albany this campaign." He has been criticized for abandoning Fort Edward, but it was unavoidable. The fort was not a strong one, and was commanded by higher ground. Then, too, his force was not half that of Burgoyne's. A week later, on the advice of his officers, he fell back to Fort Miller, six miles to the south, then to Saratoga (Schuylerville), later to Stillwater, and finally to the mouth of the Mohawk that he might be in position to face Burgoyne coming down the Hudson, or St. Leger coming down the Mohawk. On the 25th of July he wrote the Committee at Albany that they should not be alarmed at the progress of Burgoyne, and said that in case he came as far as Half Moon he would run into great danger, and that in all probability his whole army would be destroyed. Washington also was hopeful and wrote Schuyler on the 22d of July, saying:

Though our affairs have for some days worn a dark and gloomy aspect, yet I look forward to a fortunate and happy change. I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet sooner or later an important check, and as I have suggested before, that the success he has had will prove his ruin. From your accounts he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which of all others is most favorable to us; I mean acting in detachments. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard.

Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people and do away with much of this present anxiety. In such an event they would lose sight of past misfortune, and, urged at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms and afford every aid in their power.

"As Schuyler retired before Burgoyne he left neither hoof nor blade of corn." When Burgoyne approached Fort Edward, two Massachusetts regiments deserted in a body, leaving Schuyler with barely four thousand poorly equipped and scantily clothed men to compete with twice that number of the best troops in the world, who were equipped as perfectly as the knowledge of that time made possible.

The Expedition of St. Leger.— When Burgoyne began his march for Albany by the way of the lakes and the Hudson River, Colonel Barry St. Leger went to Oswego by the way of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. From that place he went to the headwaters of the Mohawk by the way of the Oswego River and Oneida Lake. On the carry between Wood Creek and the Mohawk was Fort Stanwix, situated where the city of Rome is now.

Perhaps the Loyalists were more numerous in the Mohawk Valley than in any other part of the country. This was probably due to the influence of Sir William Johnson who brought over a large number of Scotch Highlanders and Irish. They were much attached to Johnson and very naturally followed the political fortunes of his son. Nearly all the retainers and close associates of Johnson were Tories. On the other hand, the Palatines were almost without exception Patriots. It was believed by the British that St. Leger's appearance in the valley would be the signal to cause all the Tories to rise and join him on a triumphal march to Albany.

Fort Stanwix, which was renamed Fort Schuyler in 1777, was built by General Stanwix in 1758. In 1777, when Colonel Gansevoort with the third New York regiment was sent to

occupy it, because of the rumors of an invasion of the valley, it was badly out of repair. Gansevoort had not been able to put it in perfect condition before the appearance of St. Leger, but it had been made sufficiently strong to resist his attack. The force of St. Leger has been variously estimated from six hundred to two thousand. The most common estimate is seventeen hundred, the majority being Indians.

Colonel Peter Gansevoort, a native of Albany, was at this time twenty-eight years old. He won his rank when in Canada with Montgomery. With him was Lieutenant-Colonel Willett of New York, thirty-seven years of age. He had served in the French and Indian wars and was present at the building of Fort Stanwix. The garrison was made up of seven hundred and fifty men—two hundred from Massachusetts and the remainder from New York. Gansevoort was short of ammunition and had only provisions enough to last six weeks.

The British appeared before Fort Schuyler on the 2d of August. By the 4th it was completely invested. St. Leger was assisted by Sir John Johnson; John Butler, the father of the notorious Walter Butler; Colonel Daniel Claus, the son-in-law of Sir William Johnson; and Joseph Brant, the ablest leader of the Six Nations.

St. Leger left Montreal on the 19th of July and made a rapid and eventless advance, not losing a man. He felt sure the fort would "fall without a shot" and on the 5th of August wrote Burgoyne that it would soon be his. He expected the Loyalists of the valley would rise to his support and was greatly surprised when he learned that the settlers were aroused and marching to the relief of Fort Schuyler.

When it was known that St. Leger was on his way, General Nicholas Herkimer issued a proclamation calling every able-bodied man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to report at Fort Dayton for duty. About eight hundred responded. The great majority of these were Germans though among the number were English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and French. Four regiments were represented. The one from the district of Canajoharie was commanded by Colonel Ebenezer Cox,

that from Palatine by Colonel Jacob Klock, the Mohawk regiment was under Colonel Frederick Visscher, and the fourth —from German Flatts and Kingsland—was commanded by Colonel Peter Bellinger.

Herkimer's little army marched to Utica on the 4th of August and, on the 5th, reached Whitestown where they were joined by a party of Oneidas. Here Herkimer purposed to remain till he heard from the three scouts he had sent to Gansevoort. As soon as the scouts reached the fort, Gansevoort was to fire three cannon in quick succession as a signal. Then he was to make such demonstrations as would hold the enemy and prevent St. Leger from sending a force against Herkimer; who was to march to the fort, coöperate with Gansevoort and attack the enemy in front and rear at the same time. It was thought that this plan would be successful. The messengers were sent on the 5th and were expected to reach the fort before daylight the next morning, but they were delayed till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, so, of course, no signals were heard. The morning wore away and Herkimer's men grew anxious. Their relatives and neighbors were at the fort and they were anxious to march to their aid. Some thought that the scouts had not been able to reach the fort, others thought that the signal guns had been fired but not heard owing to the distance. They demanded to be led on, saying that delay might cause the loss of the fort and that then St. Leger would be free to turn his whole force against them. Herkimer was a man of mature years and a trained Indian fighter. He knew that it would be madness to attack St. Leger—who had a force twice as great as his own, made up of trained soldiers and the picked warriors of the Six Nations under the command of their most skillful leader—and pleaded for delay hoping for the signal; but the cry of "Lead us on!" was as insistent as that of "On to Richmond!" more than three-quarters of a century later. To Herkimer's plea for delay, Colonels Cox and Paris, the latter a member of the Committee of Safety, retorted angrily that they "came to fight, not to see others

fight," and finally accused Herkimer of being a Tory and a coward. In reply Herkimer said: "Those who want to fight so badly now will be the first to run when they smell burnt powder." And so it proved. In response to a further appeal for delay, some of the young officers declared that Herkimer was too old to be of use; that he lacked fidelity to the cause and was a coward. Thoroughly enraged, Herkimer gave the order to march. This was two hours before his scouts reached the fort.

When St. Leger learned of the movement of Herkimer he sent Brant to intercept him. The force included all the Indians and a detachment of Johnson's Greens. The whole management was left to Brant and he was able to choose his own ground for the fight as Herkimer's men came on recklessly, sending on no scouts in advance—a most unaccountable thing when it is remembered that nearly all the men of the valley had had experience in fighting Indians, and they knew that St. Leger's force was largely composed of savages whose favorite method was to surprise their foes or lead them into an ambush.

As the advance of Herkimer's little army was ascending the steep slope of a ravine two miles west of Oriskany, the attack was made—a little prematurely as the rear had not yet entered the trap prepared for them. This part of the force, which was commanded by Colonel Visscher, fled from the field as Herkimer had said would be the case and their Colonel, who a short time before had joined the others in denouncing Herkimer as a coward, led the headlong flight.

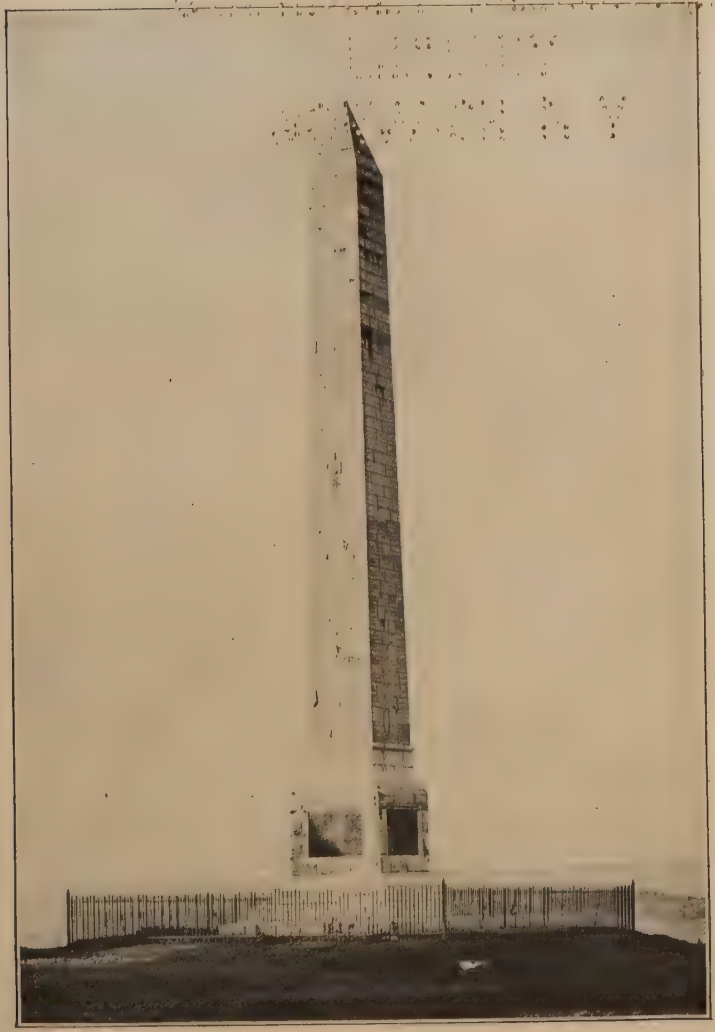
The force with Herkimer was completely surrounded and received the fire of the enemy from every quarter. The conflict was little else than a slaughter. The men arranged themselves in a constantly narrowing circle and fought with a desperate courage that has seldom been equaled. Early in the fight, Herkimer had his horse killed under him and his own leg was shattered by a bullet. He had his saddle removed and placed at the foot of a large beech tree where he sat and calmly smoked his pipe while he directed the fight. When

urged to retire to a less exposed place, he said: "I will face the enemy."

The men sheltered themselves as best they could behind trees and other objects. When one of them fired his musket an Indian would rush out and tomahawk him before he could reload his piece. Thus the slaughter went on till the sudden outbreak of a violent thunderstorm which put an end to hostilities for an hour. At this time came the belated signal from the fort. When the storm was over and the struggle began anew, the advantage was with the Americans. Herkimer had noticed the tactics of the Indians and, in the interval of rest, had stationed his men in pairs so that when one of them fired and an Indian rushed out as before he was shot by the second man. The Indians now suffered severely.

After the storm Johnson's Royal Greens, disguised as Patriots, nearly worked the destruction of Herkimer's men. As they approached, they were thought to be a party from the fort marching out to the attack as had been arranged and it was not until they were close upon the Patriots that Captain Gardinier recognized one of them as a Tory acquaintance and shouted a word of warning. Then occurred the bitterest fight of the day. Perhaps a more desperate fight was never known—certainly there could have been none in which any more bitter hatred was manifested. At the close there were at least several cases of two men locked in close embrace, both dead, with evidences of such a struggle as wild beasts might have engaged in. It was an awful spectacle. During the battle in which nearly the whole of St. Leger's force was engaged, a sortie was made from the fort. Two hundred and fifty men marched to the enemy's camp but met with no resistance. The surprise was so complete that Sir John Johnson fled without having time to put on his coat. Gansevoort captured twenty-one wagon loads of supplies together with the private property of the British officers, including papers, plans and journals.

The loss at the Battle of Oriskany will probably never be very accurately known. It probably exceeded five hundred—



Oriskany Monument

more than a third of the entire number engaged. Without doubt it was the bloodiest battle of the Revolution. Only about one-third of Herkimer's men ever saw their homes again, and every home in the valley was a house of mourning. The heaviest loss of the enemy was among the Indians, the Senecas suffering severely. They never forgot the Battle of Oriskany. Herkimer died at his home a few days after the battle, as the result of an unskillful operation followed by improper treatment.

The survivors of Herkimer's army returned to Fort Dayton. St. Leger continued the siege of the fort but his cannon were not heavy enough to have any effect upon the works. He summoned the garrison to surrender, saying that Burgoyne had been victorious and that further resistance would be useless and would result in a massacre at the hands of the Indians. He said through his messengers to Gansevoort that this offer could not be renewed and that he had hard work now to restrain the savages who were eager to march down the country and destroy the inhabitants. The summons was refused and, in reply, Colonel Willett speaking for Gansevoort, said: "Do I understand you, sir? I think you came from a British colonel who is commander of the army that invests this fort and, by your uniform, you appear to be an officer in the British service. You have made a long speech on the occasion of your visit which, stripped of its superfluities, amounts to this—that you come from a British colonel to the commandant of this garrison to tell him that if he does not deliver up the garrison into the hands of your colonel, he will send his Indians to murder our women and children. You will please to reflect, sir, that their blood will be upon your heads, not upon ours. We are doing our duty; this garrison is committed to our charge and we will take care of it. After you get out of it, you may turn around and look at its outside, but never expect to come in again, unless you come as a prisoner. I consider the message you have brought a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry. For my

own part, I declare, before I would consent to deliver this garrison to such a murdering set as your army, by your own account, consists of, I would suffer my body to be filled with splinters and set on fire, as you know has at times been practiced by such hordes of women and children killers as belong to your army." The defenders of the fort well knew that if they surrendered, the scenes of the Fort William Henry massacre would be repeated as the force of St. Leger consisted mainly of Indians and Tories, and he could not restrain them if he would. Proof of this is found in the treatment of his own men by the savages when the retreat took place.

Failing to induce the garrison to surrender, Johnson, Claus, and Butler issued an address to the people of Tryon County urging them to submit, saying that they were surrounded by "victorious armies."

Colonel Willett and Major Stockwell left the fort and carried to General Schuyler a report of the condition of affairs in the valley. He called a council of his officers and recommended sending Gansevoort reinforcements sufficient to raise the siege. This was unanimously opposed on the ground that it would weaken the army defending Albany, the more important position, but the more far-seeing Schuyler persisted in his opinion and endeavored to bring the others to see the matter as he did. During the discussion he heard the half-whispered remark, "He means to weaken the army." Suddenly turning and facing the slanderer he exclaimed indignantly: "Gentlemen, I shall take the responsibility upon myself; where is the brigadier that will take command of the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers tomorrow." Arnold immediately volunteered. He reached Fort Dayton on the 20th of August. Not feeling himself strong enough to attack St. Leger he resorted to artifice. He took pains to have reports circulated that he was on his way to Fort Schuyler with an immense force. The Indians under St. Leger were weary of the campaign. They had suffered severely and not much was necessary to cause them to turn toward their homes. These reports made them very restless

and St. Leger and Johnson had all that they could do to keep them from deserting.

A number of Tories had been captured before the coming of Arnold, among the number one Hon Yost Schuyler, not quite full-witted and yet possessed of a certain kind of cunning. Arnold sentenced him to be executed as a spy. His mother begged for the life of her son and Arnold agreed to set him free if he would go to the camp of St. Leger and report that Arnold was near at hand with a powerful army. His brother was held as a hostage and a friendly Oneida accompanied Hon Yost to see that he fulfilled his promise. Several holes were shot through his clothing. Many of the Indians knew him personally and when he ran into their presence out of breath and terribly frightened, saying that the Americans were coming in great numbers, the Indians were greatly disturbed. The chiefs held a council and resolved upon immediate flight and so reported to St. Leger who sent for Hon Yost and questioned him. He declared that Arnold had two thousand men. At this moment the friendly Oneida appeared from another direction accompanied by two or three members of the tribe. They reported that the valley below was swarming with men. One said Arnold had three thousand and that the army of Burgoyne had been cut to pieces. The Indians were now thoroughly alarmed and neither bribes, promises, nor threats could induce them to remain longer. The Indians fled, the panic spread to St. Leger's men and soon the whole army was flying in terror to their boats on Oneida Lake. The Indians butchered their prisoners and such of the British soldiers as were unable to keep up with the retreating column or straggled from it. St. Leger said they "became more formidable than the enemy they had to expect."

The victory at Oriskany not only prevented St. Leger from coöperating with Burgoyne, but it also prevented a Tory uprising in the Mohawk Valley and the complete union of all the Six Nations against the Americans. Had Herkimer been defeated at Oriskany, and Gansevoort compelled to

surrender Fort Schuyler, the valley would have been filled with Tories who would have joined St. Leger in a march to Albany. Gates would probably have been defeated at Saratoga and Burgoyne would have ended his march at Albany in triumph. Apparently the fate of the country was in the balance at Oriskany and the outcome there was determined, first, by the bravery of the Germans under Herkimer and, second, by Schuyler, who in the face of opposition of his officers sent Arnold to the relief of Gansevoort.

An interesting event in the defense of Fort Schuyler is the fact that there was the place where the American flag was first displayed in the presence of a foe. It was a rude affair—the white came from a shirt, the blue from an old jacket, and the red from a woman's petticoat.

Burgoyne's Troubles.—Burgoyne reached Fort Edward on the 22d of July and Schuyler retired before him. Colonel Warner was at Manchester recruiting his forces and watching for an opportunity to attack Burgoyne in the rear or cut his line of communication.

After vainly imploring Carleton to send troops from Canada to garrison Ticonderoga, Burgoyne withdrew his forces from Castleton and Skenesborough, leaving the Lake George route as his only line of communication with the north.

On the 27th of August, Jane McCrea was murdered by some Indians in Burgoyne's command. This was no more important in itself than any one of the countless outrages of the savages, but in its consequences it was a very important matter. It seemed to mark the turn of the tide in the fortunes of Burgoyne. For the first twelve days, his campaign was a triumphant march, then came the victory at Ticonderoga and the scattering of the forces of St. Clair; after this the slow and labored march to Fort Edward, from which he drove the weak and despondent forces of Schuyler. The way to Albany seemed open with no indication of any effective opposition. Then when the food problem began to be serious,

and the necessity of getting supplies grew pressing, came this shameful murder.

There are many versions of this story, hardly any two agreeing in all particulars, but all in accord so far as to attribute the death of Miss McCrea to the Indians of Burgoyne's command. The fact that she was engaged to be married to one of the Loyalist officers with Burgoyne seemed an aggravation of the offense in showing that no one was safe from the bloodthirsty savages whom the British had employed. The pompous proclamation that Burgoyne issued when he was at Crown Point was now remembered against him. In it he said: "I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk."

The feeling aroused at this time had not been equaled since Concord and Lexington. The story of the murder was told at every little gathering of the people, almost at every fireside, throughout Vermont, northern New York and western Massachusetts with all the harrowing details and the magnified accounts that would naturally be developed on such an occasion. Even Burke, in the House of Commons, made use of the story, showing how far it spread.

Among the first acts of Gates when he took command of the Northern Army was to write a letter to Burgoyne in which he said: "The miserable fate of Miss McCrea was peculiarly aggravated by her being dressed to receive her promised husband but met her murderer *employed by you.* Upward of one hundred men, women and children have perished by the hands of ruffians to whom it is asserted *you have paid the price of blood.*" Gates was not altogether correct in his statements, but it is fair to suppose that he thought he was, and it is probably true that his words reflected pretty correctly the feelings of the time.

In replying to Gates, Burgoyne said: "I would not be conscious of the acts you presume to impute to me for the whole continent of America, though the wealth of the world

was in its bowels and a paradise upon its surface." Everything goes to show that Burgoyne was a humane man and, at this late day, when the matter can be looked at dispassionately, one cannot easily believe that Burgoyne would knowingly have tolerated any such acts as were imputed to him. This is shown by his address to the Indians at Bouquet River and by the order issued after the murder of Miss McCrea, forbidding any party of Indians to go out on a marauding expedition except under the lead of a British officer—an act that cost him the support of his whole Indian force.

On the first of August the general condition of affairs was as follows: Burgoyne knew that St. Leger had reached Oswego but had had no later news from him. His efforts to organize a battalion of New England Loyalists made slow progress. Nearly all his Indian allies had deserted him. Lincoln was active in New England trying to raise a force for the capture of Ticonderoga. It began to dawn upon Burgoyne that the mere feeding of his army was likely to prove a serious task. He had found that he could not secure enough supplies from the country through which he was passing to be of material assistance. It grew to be a more and more difficult task to keep his line of communication open. While Burgoyne was experiencing these serious troubles, the Americans were not strong enough to take the fullest advantage of them. Both armies waited anxiously to hear from Howe.

Battle of Bennington.—Burgoyne said: "It was soon found that in the situation of the transport service at that time, the army could barely be victualed from day to day, and that there was no prospect of establishing a magazine in due time for pursuing present advantages. The idea of expedition to Bennington originated upon this difficulty, combined with the intelligence reported by General Riedesel, and with all that I had otherwise received. I knew that Bennington was the great deposit of corn, flour, and store cattle; that it was only guarded by militia and every day's account tended to confirm the persuasion of the loyalty of one descrip-

tion of inhabitants and the panic of the other. Those who knew the country best were the most sanguine in this persuasion. The German troops employed were the best I had of that nation. The number of British was small but it was the select light corps of the army, composed of chosen men from all the regiments, and commanded by Captain Fraser, one of the most distinguished officers in his line of service that I ever met with."

Vermont was thoroughly aroused. Bennington had been selected as a center for the accumulation of supplies. Hundreds of horses and ample stores of food and ammunition had been gathered there. Learning of this and believing that there were numerous Loyalists in that section who would rise as soon as a British force appeared, Burgoyne dispatched Colonel Baum with five hundred of Riedesel's men and one hundred Indians to that place. So confident was Burgoyne of the loyalty of a large number of the inhabitants and their desire to aid the cause of the King, that he sent out a skeleton regiment fully officered expecting it to be readily filled by the Loyalists of Vermont, but the Loyalists of his imagination did not materialize. Burgoyne seems to have reached his conclusions in this matter by reason of the representations of Major Skene, a staunch Loyalist who had lived for years in that section and was supposed to be familiar with the facts.

The expedition started on the 13th of August and Baum reached Cambridge that afternoon and had a skirmish with thirty or forty of the Americans stationed there to guard the cattle that had been gathered at that point. They reported that there were eighteen hundred militia at Bennington. Baum wrote Burgoyne from Cambridge and closed his letters as follows:

> Your Excellency may depend upon hearing how I proceed at Bennington and of my success there. I will be particularly careful on my approach to that place to be fully informed of their strength and position, and take the precautions necessary to fulfill both the orders and the instructions of your Excellency.

On the evening of the 14th Burgoyne wrote Baum saying:

> Should you find the enemy too strongly posted at Bennington, I wish you to take a post where you can maintain yourself till you receive an answer from me, and I will either support you in force or withdraw you.

The same day Baum reported that he had had a skirmish at Van Schaick's Mills and captured some supplies, and taken a few prisoners who reported that there were from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred militia at Bennington who, it was supposed, would leave on his approach.

When Burgoyne learned that the enemy knew of the movement of Baum and that they were much stronger than had been supposed, he promptly sent Colonel Breyman with five hundred troops for the support of Baum. Breyman was very unfortunate and possibly not very energetic, as he was about twenty-four hours in making that number of miles. A heavy rain set in and made the roads bad and the progress very slow. His cannon had to be hauled up the hills one at a time. One artillery cart was overturned and a tumbril was broken up and its ammunition lost. A guide lost his way and led the force out of the direct route. These unfortunate events so delayed Breyman that at nightfall he was seven miles from Cambridge. Lieutenant Hanneman was sent to Baum to report the coming of reinforcements.

Colonel John Stark.—At this time Stark was a private citizen. He had served with distinction during the French and Indian wars, was with Abercrombie at Ticonderoga and belonged to Roger's Rangers. He was at the battles of Bunker Hill, Trenton and Princeton. When the army went into winter quarters after the last-named battles, Stark went to New Hampshire on a recruiting expedition and raised a considerable force. While upon this duty, several of his juniors were appointed over him and he so much resented it that he resigned from the army but, when there was a threatened invasion of his state, he raised a force for its

defense but insisted that he was serving his state only and would not recognize the authority of the Continental officers. When he learned of the threatened attack on Bennington by Baum, he gathered his forces there and sent a messenger to General Lincoln at Manchester asking him to send Colonel Seth Warner with his regiment to aid in the defense of that place. This was done, and the men marched all night in a drenching rain.

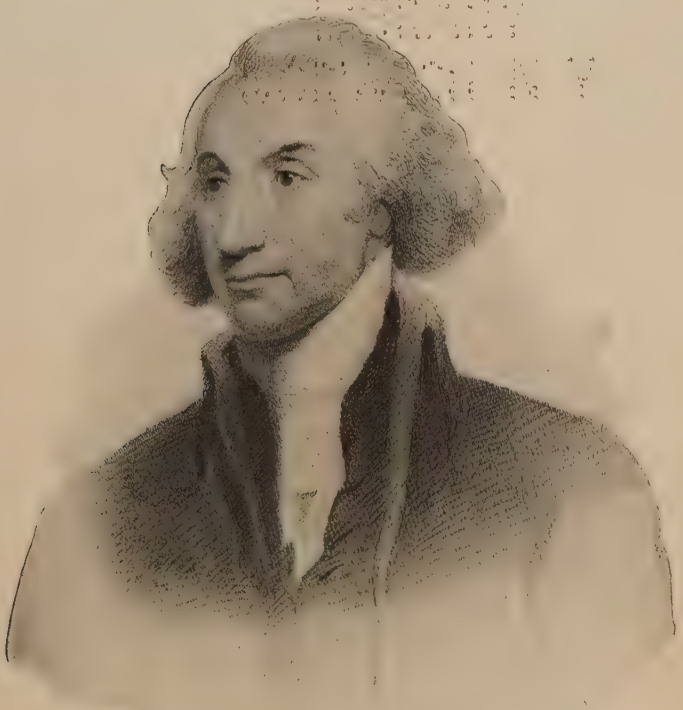
The storm which delayed Breyman also prevented any hostilities at Bennington beyond a little skirmishing. During the day Colonel Symonds arrived with a detachment of the Berkshire militia, bringing the force of Stark up to at least two thousand. The fight took place on the 16th. Baum had taken a position on rising ground back of a small, easily fordable stream known as the Walloomsac River, a branch of the Hoosick. This was on the soil of New York. As a matter of fact, not a shot was fired on the soil of Vermont during the Battle of Bennington.

During the forenoon the Americans gathered on the flanks of Baum and in his rear. They went in little groups of half a dozen at a time, clad in rustic blue frocks, and Baum never suspected them to be soldiers, but he was cruelly undeceived when the fight began about three o'clock in the afternoon. While Stark with five hundred men forded the stream in front of Baum, the latter was suddenly attacked on both flanks and in the rear. He was assailed at once on all sides. The Indians fled to the woods at the first onset. The Germans fought desperately but hopelessly. The battle was soon over. Baum was mortally wounded and his entire force captured. While the Americans were scattered over the field collecting trophies and securing plunder, Breyman suddenly appeared. Stark attempted to collect his scattered militia but it was not easily done and, for a time, the fortunes of the day were in doubt but Warner, who had stopped at Bennington to rest his men and dry their accouterments, appeared at this time and Breyman was checked. A stubborn fight followed, lasting till dark. The ammunition for the

British artillery was exhausted and the fight was ended. Breyman and sixty or seventy of his men, escaped and found their way back to Burgoyne. The British force was practically annihilated. Two hundred and seven were killed or wounded and seven hundred taken prisoners. The American loss was fourteen killed and forty-two wounded. An interesting story is told of Stark. Just before making the attack he said to his men: "See there, men! There are the red-coats! Before night they are ours, or Molly Stark will be a widow."

The thing hoped for by Washington had happened and the consequences were as he had anticipated. The victory at Bennington, following the Battle of Oriskany and the dispersion of the forces of St. Leger, greatly cheered the Americans and they began to hope that they might deal with the whole army of Burgoyne, as they had done with the smaller forces at Oriskany and Bennington. Reinforcements began to pour in to Schuyler at Stillwater and to Lincoln at Manchester.

On the 14th of August, Burgoyne broke camp at Fort Edward and began his march toward Albany expecting to be joined by Baum and St. Leger. On the 17th he learned of Baum's disaster and for the first time began to fully appreciate how serious his position was. As late as the 20th he had not heard of the rout of St. Leger, as on that day he wrote Lord Germain saying that notwithstanding St. Leger's victory over Herkimer the fort at the carry still held out and he feared the expectations of Sir John Johnson as to the rising of the country would not be realized. He stated that there was no doubt that the great bulk of the population was with Congress in principle and said: "Wherever the King's forces point, militia to the amount of three or four thousand assemble in twenty-four hours, and bring their subsistence with them, and the alarm over, they return to their farms. The Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and rebellious men of the continent, and hang like a gathering storm on my left."



PHILIP SCHUYLER

Gates and Schuyler.—Gates and the New Englanders made every possible effort to discredit Schuyler. Their animosity toward him was so great that they were willing to risk the welfare of the nation and the success of the Revolution in order to get rid of him. In the discussion in Congress that preceded the superseding of Schuyler by Gates it was said by those who favored such action that the militia of New England would not turn out while Schuyler was in command, and it is a fair inference that they did not wish them to do so.

Schuyler was removed on the first of August and Washington was asked to name someone for the place. A memorial was sent him in the handwriting of Samuel Adams, signed by all the New England delegates, requesting him to appoint Gates. This he was evidently unwilling to do, as he wrote a letter to Congress asking to be excused from appointing a commander for the Northern army. On the 5th of August Gates was appointed by Congress. The feeling against Schuyler had become such that the appointment of someone else in his place was proper, and perhaps necessary, and, had the appointee been an officer of ability and character, it would not have created any especial feeling at the time or afterward, but the appointment of the man who had spent his time for months maligning Schuyler and Washington was an insult hard to be borne. Gates bore the part toward Schuyler that Lee did toward Washington. He was a weak, petty, envious creature. It is perfectly clear now that his appointment was a serious blunder—one that might have resulted in the ruin of the American prospects and probably would have done so had it not been for Morgan and Arnold. Speaking of Gates, Fiske says: "His nature was thoroughly weak and petty, and he never shrank from falsehood when it seemed to serve his purpose." And again: "He never gave evidence of either skill or bravery; and in taking part in the war his only solicitude seems to have been for his own personal advancement."

The circumstances accompanying the change of command-

ers brought out clearly the kind of man each was. Schuyler performed every duty to the last day as conscientiously and efficiently as though he were to be permanently in command. On the arrival of Gates he gave the latter all the information he had, explained what he had done, what his plans were, and offered to serve him in any way in his power—this, when he would have been fully justified in turning over his command to the officer next in rank and leaving as soon as he had notice of his removal. On the other hand, Gates not only showed no appreciation of what Schuyler had done and offered to do, but treated him contemptuously and, in general, conducted himself in a manner in which no gentleman would be disposed to do.

Gates did not arrive at headquarters till the 19th—three days after the Battle of Bennington and two weeks after the fight at Oriskany; not until after the full turn of the tide and the final outcome of the campaign was as certain as any future event well could be.

This change in commanders came after the defeat of St. Leger, which was due to the courage of Schuyler in sending Arnold to reinforce Gansevoort against the judgment of all his officers. It came after the cheering victory at Bennington, and when Arnold was hastening back to Fort Schuyler and the forces were gathering under Lincoln and threatening the communications of Burgoyne. It came when the skies were bright in every direction, when the long and, at times almost hopeless, struggles of Schuyler were about to be crowned with victory. For a man to act under such circumstances as Schuyler did is convincing evidence of greatness.

Battle of Freeman's Farm.—Washington sent Morgan with his riflemen to Gates to contend with the Indians of Burgoyne's command. They arrived on the 23d of August. By the 8th of September the army had grown to eight thousand men and Gates advanced to Stillwater, then a little later to Bemis Heights, two and a half miles farther north, where defenses were constructed under the direction of Kosciusko.

Here Gates waited. Waited for Burgoyne to attack him. Waited to hear from Lincoln who was attempting to cut off Burgoyne's communications and intercept his supplies. Lincoln was not wholly successful but he made considerable trouble, captured three hundred British and Canadians and set free one hundred Americans. He also destroyed two hundred batteaux and several gunboats.

Burgoyne made heroic efforts to secure supplies and by the 12th of September he had accumulated enough for thirty days. He then moved against Gates, first marching to the mouth of the Battenkill. On the 13th and 14th he crossed the Hudson and encamped at the mouth of Fish Creek. There was considerable skirmishing on the 18th and the Battle of Freeman's Farm took place on the 19th. It was obstinately contested on both sides. Arnold with three thousand men fought four thousand British. He begged Gates to send him two thousand more, saying that he then could crush the British center and defeat their army. Subsequent events show that he was right but Gates would not consent and kept 11,000 men idle at Bemis Heights while the fortunes of the army were in the balance. The success of the day was wholly Arnold's, yet Gates did not even mention him in his dispatches.

Speaking of the contest, the Earl of Balcarras says: "The enemy behaved with great obstinacy and courage." The Earl of Harrington says: "The British movement was disputed very obstinately by the enemy." How obstinately may be gathered from the fact that Captain Jones, who commanded a battery of four guns, lost thirty-six of his forty-eight men. In this engagement the loss of the Americans was three hundred and twenty-one, that of the British about six hundred. Arnold wished to renew the fight the next day but Gates would not consent. Bitter words passed between the two men and Arnold demanded a pass for himself and staff, allowing him to report to Washington's headquarters. This Gates was only too glad to grant. However, after the heat of passion had passed, Arnold could not bring himself to

leave the scene of danger. All the general officers, except Lincoln, and a great many others of all ranks, signed a petition entreating Arnold to remain, which he did, though he no longer had a command or any authority.

Four days after the Battle of Freeman's Farm Lincoln and his force joined Gates. The latter was short of ammunition and had great difficulty in getting a supply for his army. Burgoyne lacked artillery, having with him only twenty-six of the one hundred and thirty-eight pieces with which he started on his campaign. Little of note occurred for three weeks after the battle. By the 3d of October Burgoyne was obliged to shorten the rations of his soldiers. Something must be done and done at once. To rest quietly in camp meant starvation. To retreat was to set free a large American force for operations against Clinton. All Burgoyne's officers agreed that an offensive movement was absolutely necessary. When the attack was made, Burgoyne commanded his men in person. At first the battle seemed to go against the Americans and Arnold, observing this, though without a command, could not sit idly by so he mounted his horse and was soon in the thickest of the fight cheering the men on. He inspired the army and so distinguished himself that Congress promoted him for his bravery. Morgan's command rendered distinguished service. In the Battle of Freeman's Farm, Gates took no part and during the Battle of Bemis Heights he remained at his headquarters discussing the merits of the Revolution with a wounded British officer.

Burgoyne's attempt to force his way through the American lines to Albany had utterly failed. Nothing now remained but an attempt to reach Canada. This effort also was a failure. His army was completely surrounded at Schuylerville and was unable to break through the American lines in any direction. On the 17th of October, Burgoyne's army laid down their arms and five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one men became prisoners of war.

The surrender of Burgoyne ended in disaster a long-cherished plan of the British ministry. It secured for the

Schuylerville Monument

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XII

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION

The importance of Sullivan's expedition has not generally been recognized, nor the reasons for it generally understood. Its effect has not been fully appreciated. So long as their families were exposed to the horrors of Indian raids, it was difficult to get the men on the frontier to enter the Continental army and, when they did join it, they would return to their homes whenever there was a raid by the savages, or one threatened. So the consequences of the border warfare of the Indians were far-reaching.

New York suffered severely from the border wars and so, to a less extent, did New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Up to the time of the Revolution the northern and western boundaries had been somewhat protected by the Six Nations, but when that confederacy cast its fortunes with Great Britain there was no longer any protection. On the contrary, there was greatly increased danger from Indian depredations. Raids and massacres were matters of frequent occurrence. The scenes of Cherry Valley and Wyoming were repeated again and again on a smaller scale. The sufferings became so great, the attacks so numerous, and the consequences so serious that, on the 25th of February, 1778, Congress passed a resolution directing Washington to chastise the Indians and take effective means to protect the border.

Washington decided to send a force of five thousand men against the Indians, deeming it wise to send an overwhelming force and strike a crushing blow. He had had sufficient experience in fighting Indians, and knew their nature well enough to know that only the most severe punishment would be effective.

Gates was offered the command of this expedition because of his rank in the army. He was a man who was fond of display, applause and prominence but not of hard work, or of danger, so he declined the appointment saying: "The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength, requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal."

In his correspondence with the President of Congress, Washington referred to this ungracious reply as follows:

The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to be appointed for the Indian expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, will probably be of the second, if not of the first importance, for the campaign. The officer commanding it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year, and he has the best reason to hope for success. General Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; General Schuyler (who, by the way, would have been most agreeable to me) was so uncertain of continuing in the army, that I could not appoint him; General Putnam I need not mention; I therefore made the offer of it, for the appointment could no longer be delayed, to General Gates, who was next in seniority, though perhaps I might have avoided it if I had been so disposed from his being in command by the special appointment of Congress. My letter to him on the occasion, I believe you will think was conceived in very cordial and polite terms, and that it merited a different answer from the one given to it.

When Gates declined the command of the expedition it was given to Sullivan to whom Washington wrote the following:

Sir: The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians with their associates and adherents. The immediate object is their *total destruction* and devastation, and the capture of as many persons of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

The plan of operations was a very comprehensive one. Sullivan was to assemble his force at Wyoming on the Susquehanna. Clinton was to pass up the Mohawk, enter the country of the Onondagas and punish them, then cross over to Otsego Lake, down the Susquehanna and join Sullivan at Tioga Point (now Athens, Pennsylvania). Colonel Brodhead was to march into the Seneca country from Pittsburgh and join Sullivan in the Genesee Valley. After completing their work of destruction the whole force was to march against Niagara, capture and destroy that post, thus making their work complete. Only this latter part of the movement failed of success.

Brodhead did not form a junction with Sullivan because the latter was so much delayed—owing to the lack of promptness in delivering supplies on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities—that Brodhead had performed his part of the work and, his supplies being exhausted, been compelled to return to Pittsburgh.

When Sullivan had completed his work of destruction he was strong enough to move against Niagara without the aid of Brodhead but it was late in the season and his supplies were low, and it was therefore thought unwise to undertake the movement.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead started from Pittsburgh on the 11th of August with six hundred and five men provisioned for one month. He followed the Allegheny River for about two hundred miles, probably as far as the city of Hornell. This took him into the country of the Senecas. He destroyed the Indian town of Yoghroonwago on the Allegheny, and seven other towns in that section. The eight towns had in all about one hundred and thirty houses. Brodhead also destroyed at least five hundred acres of corn and a large quantity of other vegetables. He returned to Pittsburgh by a route different from that over which he came and destroyed three towns on French Creek. Brodhead not only did considerable work of destruction but probably kept some of the Senecas from taking part in operations against Sullivan. Owing to

the lack of supplies he was unable to wait for the arrival of Sullivan.

Sullivan had direct command of three brigades; a fourth under Clinton joined him at Tioga Point. The first brigade consisted of the First, Second, and Third New Jersey regiments and Spencer's New Jersey regiment. The second was composed of the First, Second and Third New Hampshire regiments and the Sixth Massachusetts. The third was composed of the Fourth and Eleventh Pennsylvania regiments, a German battalion, an artillery force, some of Morgan's riflemen, a few Wyoming militia, and two independent companies. The fourth was made up of the Third, Fourth and Fifth New York regiments and a New York artillery detachment.

The first brigade, consisting of the four New Jersey regiments, was under the command of General William Maxwell. This force gathered at Elizabethtown and then marched to Easton where they were joined by the second brigade under the command of General Enoch Poor. The New Hampshire and Massachusetts men had marched across the country from a point a few miles above Peekskill, passing through Orange County.

The two brigades marched from Easton to Wyoming on the Susquehanna River. The route lay through a wild, thickly wooded country and across almost impassable swamps. Nearly forty days were required to make this comparatively short distance.

A long and vexatious delay occurred at Easton. The New Jersey regiments refused to march until they received their long overdue pay. Pennsylvania was not only to furnish troops but supplies, but neither were ready when Sullivan reached Easton. The truth is that Pennsylvania did not seem to have much heart in the movement. The Quakers had always opposed the exercise of force in dealing with the Indians. Some were dissatisfied because the command of the expedition had not been given to a Pennsylvanian instead of to an officer from New England. Others complained that

Sullivan was extravagant and unreasonable in his demand for supplies. Therefore, for one reason and another the expedition was delayed.

The supplies which were furnished tardily and reluctantly were insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality. Much of the salted meat had been put into barrels made of green wood and was therefore unfit to eat. Even in those days men could be found who were willing to profit at their country's expense and through the sufferings of their fellow-men. It was not until the 31st of July that Sullivan began his march for Tioga where he was to be joined by Clinton.

In the meantime Clinton had performed the duties assigned him. He gathered a force at Schenectady, marched up the Mohawk to Canajoharie and from that point sent Colonel Van Schaick against the Onondagas because these Indians were threatening the frontier. Van Schaick killed twelve of the Indians and captured thirty-eight. The corn of the Indians was destroyed, their stock captured, one hundred and ten guns seized and fifty houses burned.

After this expedition Clinton moved his army twenty miles across the country to the head of Otsego Lake, the source of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. The route being over a heavily wooded and hilly country, largely without roads, Clinton had a heavy task as he had to transport more than two hundred batteaux that were to be used on his march down the Susquehanna. The work was quickly and successfully performed and he awaited orders from Sullivan which did not come until the first week in August, on account of the delays already mentioned. In the meantime, as the summer had been very dry, and the Susquehanna was unusually low and filled with flood wood and fallen trees, Clinton built a dam across the narrow outlet of the lake and raised the water three or four feet. As the lake was nine miles long and from half a mile to two miles wide, this accumulated a great mass of water and, when the wooden dam was destroyed, the rush of water not only cleared the river and afforded an easy passage for the boats but it greatly frightened the

Indians down the river as they could not account for a flood in an unusually dry season without rain. They thought the Great Spirit was angry with them.

Clinton began his march on the 9th. The river was very crooked and there were many obstructions, so he did not make as rapid progress as Sullivan had expected and the latter became uneasy and sent a brigade to meet him. The two forces met about ten miles from the present site of Binghamton and on account of this meeting the village located there has always been known as Union. It was on the 28th of August that the forces of Sullivan and Clinton came together. So far, the work had been that of preparation. It is true that Clinton had destroyed some houses and crops in the Onondaga country and several places on his march down the Susquehanna, and that Sullivan had destroyed a few small places, but all this had been more than counterbalanced by the Minisink raid of Brant.

The real work of the campaign was now to begin. Sullivan had built a fort at Tioga Point known as Fort Sullivan. Here were left the sick and non-combatants that could be spared. That left an available force of about thirty-five hundred for the march across the state through the woods and swamps, across rivers and around lakes, through a country where there were no roads, where all supplies had to be carried with them, where defeat meant almost complete annihilation, and serious wounds or sickness meant death. Surrounded at all times by numerous foes who knew no mercy, who could not be induced to risk a general battle, whose barbarity is illustrated by their treatment of Lieutenant Boyd, it required no small degree of courage to enter the unbroken wilderness that spread before General Sullivan's army. General Sherman's march to the sea is deservedly celebrated in song and story, but this march of General Sullivan's is almost unknown, though one of far greater risk, requiring greater courage, and equally successful.

The Indians with their English and Tory allies were determined to prevent the advance of Sullivan. Brant's raid

into Orange County with the massacre at Minisink was for the purpose of drawing away a part of Sullivan's force. Failing in this, the Indians resolved to make a stand at Newtown, near Elmira, where they had constructed some breastworks. The real leader was Brant but with him were Colonel John Butler, Sir John Johnson, Walter Butler and Captain McDonald. Their force consisted of about eight hundred Indians and three hundred regulars and Tories. The engagement lasted about six hours but there seems to have been more noise than execution; at any rate Sullivan's loss was only four or five killed and thirty wounded. No one has ever known the loss of the Indians but it was probably considerably greater as there was widespread mourning among the Indian women.

The Indians were utterly disheartened and could not be induced to make another stand against what they believed to be an overwhelming force. Despair and terror took complete possession of them. Wherever Sullivan went, he found the country deserted. No attempt was made to hold their villages or to save their crops. From this time on, Sullivan had only the work of destruction. The only show of resistance was when a small party under Lieutenant Boyd was surrounded by an overwhelming force. The party was almost annihilated and Boyd was tortured in a most horrible manner.

Sullivan marched leisurely across the state to the Genesee Valley, along the shores of Seneca and Cayuga lakes, destroying everything along his line of march. Forty villages and more than one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed. Many thousand of fruit trees were killed—mainly peach and apple. Gardens containing a great variety of vegetables were laid in waste. Much grew out of this expedition aside from the punishment of the Indians, which will be referred to in a later chapter. Many of the officers on this expedition kept journals that have since been published. They expressed their astonishment at the wonderful fertility of the land and the marvelous growth of the corn. One says that a man on horseback would not be seen in a

field of corn because of its height. Another speaks of ears of corn twenty inches long. Sullivan said the Genesee Valley did not seem like the home of savages but rather of a people skilled in agriculture. All were charmed with the beauty and fertility of the valley.

While the capture of Niagara was not accomplished as had been hoped, and the Indians were able to renew their raids to some extent the following year, yet the power of the confederacy had really been broken and it never recovered from the blow Sullivan inflicted upon it. The Indians were terribly punished. They were compelled to spend the following winter at Niagara with the British and live largely on salted food. The winter was unusually severe and exposure and lack of suitable food caused hundreds of them to die before the coming of spring. One result of the attitude of the Six Nations and the outcome of this campaign was that at the close of the Revolution the larger part of the Indians removed to Canada and most of the territory formerly owned by them was opened to settlement.

The country of the Senecas and the Cayugas, the Genesee Valley and the valleys leading into it, and the country along the shores of Seneca and Cayuga lakes were exceedingly fertile. Thousands of acres of land were cleared and had been in that condition so long that the Indians had no knowledge that it had ever been otherwise. The Indians of this section had made considerable advance in civilization. Many of their villages were built of log houses, some of them squared logs and in a few instances they were painted. They had hogs, hens, and some other domestic animals. They had extensive gardens in which they cultivated all kinds of vegetables that were then common with the whites. They had extensive orchards of apples, peaches and some other fruits. One orchard had fifteen hundred trees in it. They had extensive cornfields, so large and so numerous that it was estimated that Sullivan destroyed one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of this grain. The Indians not only supplied their own wants but also to a large extent provided for the

British troops at Niagara, which was an additional reason for destroying their crops and preventing the raising of others in the year to come.

Possibly we will get a clearer idea of this semi-civilization if we describe a few of the towns destroyed. Catherinestown at the head of Seneca Lake, on the site of the present village of Havana, had forty houses that were generally large and well built. That of Queen Esther was two stories in height and eighteen by thirty feet on the ground. Her farm was not altogether unlike a modern stock farm as it was fenced and devoted to the raising of horses, cattle, hogs and chickens. She also raised much fruit and vegetables and had extensive grain fields. This village was also known as Sheoquaga.

Kanedesaga, the capital of the Seneca nation and often called Seneca Castle, was situated on the site of the present city of Geneva. It was on the great trail leading from Albany to Niagara. Johnson built a fort there in 1756 because he regarded the site as one of great importance from a military point of view. The town had fifty houses and there were several small hamlets near by. About it were very extensive orchards and cornfields. There were also many large gardens containing peas, beans, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, onions, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, squashes and watermelons.

Kanandaigua, an Indian village located on the site of the present village of Canandaigua, was a town of twenty-three houses—all new and exceedingly good, some of them framed, others built of logs.

On the east side of Canaseraga Creek, two miles above its junction with the Genesee, was the Indian town of Gathtsegwarohare which contained twenty-five houses, most of which were new. The cornfields there were so extensive that it took two thousand men six hours to destroy them.

Near Cuylerville, in the town of Leicester, was the largest Indian town in the Seneca country. It was known as Little Beard's Town or the Great Genesee Castle or Chenandoanes. It contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, most of which were large and fine. Surrounding the village were two

hundred acres of corn and many large gardens. These towns and all others in the Seneca and Cayuga country were destroyed. So far as possible, not a vestige of the work of the Indians in making homes for themselves was spared.

In order to properly appreciate what the great Iroquois Confederacy was and what it had at stake we should remember that it controlled a territory about twelve hundred miles long and six hundred miles wide, that is, more than ten times as large as the whole state of New York. This was their stake in the Revolution and this they lost, and the Americans gained.

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XIII

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

On the 5th of January, 1757, there was born on the little West Indian island of Nevis a boy who was to become one of the foremost citizens of his adopted country, and who was to have a large part in determining its independence, its form of government, and in working out the details of its administration. This was Alexander Hamilton.

His father, James Hamilton, was a Scotchman. He descended from a family of note and had a fine mind, but lacked business ability. His mother, Rachel Fawcett, who was born on the Island of Nevis, was of French Huguenot descent. Young Hamilton inherited a happy combination of Scotch and French characteristics.

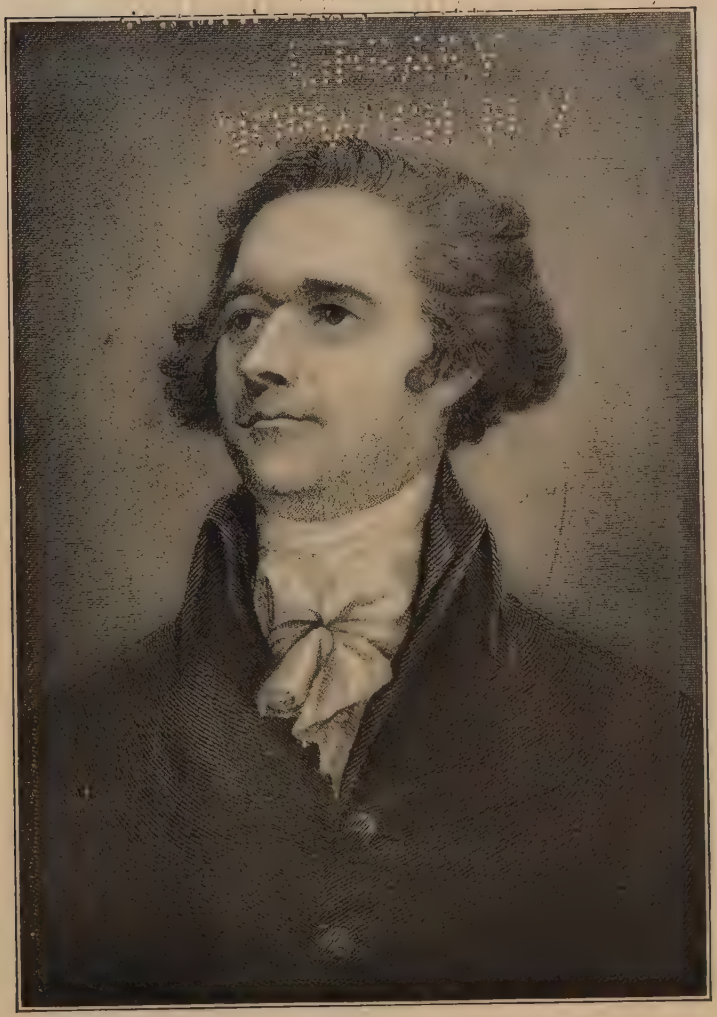
When a mere girl of sixteen, Rachel Fawcett was forced by her mother into a marriage with a rich Danish Jew, named Levine, who was very much older than she. The marriage was a very unhappy one. Levine treated his wife so cruelly that she was compelled to leave him and return to her mother. Several years later she met James Hamilton and fell in love with him. It was impossible for her to obtain a divorce from Levine though in these days her grounds for divorce would have been regarded sufficient in most American states, if not in all. She was a brilliant, accomplished and educated woman. She and Hamilton lived together till her death which occurred at the early age of thirty-two.

The relations that existed between James Hamilton and Rachel Levine do not seem to have led to any lack of social recognition. Those who knew them and all the circumstances appear to have regarded their relations as justifiable under the circumstances, even though they were not lawful. After

the birth of Alexander Hamilton, Levine divorced his wife. The decree permitted him to marry again but did not afford his wife the same privilege. It is clear that no prejudice existed against Hamilton on account of his birth, for if that had been the case intimate relations would not have existed between him and Washington, nor would Philip Schuyler have welcomed him as a son-in-law; still the circumstances of his birth were used against him in the bitterness of political controversy. Even John Adams, of good puritanical training, so far forgot himself on one occasion as to call Hamilton a "damn bastard brat of a Scotch peddler."

Hamilton's mother died when he was very young. His father was not so situated as to properly care for his son so he was sent to the adjoining island of St. Croix to live with his mother's relatives, who were people of means, and were engaged in mercantile pursuits. Young Hamilton was given a place in their counting house where he acquitted himself with much credit, though the work was not at all to his liking. In August, 1772, when Hamilton was only fifteen years old, a terrible hurricane swept over the island—the severest storm the people had ever experienced. The sea was lashed into fury, the storm swept across the land uprooting trees and carrying devastation in its path. Even the bravest of the inhabitants were greatly frightened and many were terror-stricken, but young Hamilton watched the storm with the greatest interest and wholly without fear. A few days later an account of the storm appeared in a paper printed in a neighboring island. The account was so vivid, the word painting so marvelous, that the people were certain some writer of note must have been among them without their knowledge and when they learned that the account was written by one of their number, and he a mere boy, they were greatly astonished. They felt that such a lad should have a better chance for education than St. Croix could afford and a wider field in which to exercise his talents.

His friends raised a fund for him and he was sent to America. He landed at Boston but soon went to New York.



Alexander Hamilton

He brought letters of introduction to Rev. Hugh Knox and William Livingston. The former advised him to prepare for college, so he entered a preparatory school at Elizabethtown. He made his home with Livingston, who afterward became governor of New Jersey. Here he met John Jay and other men of note. In the winter of 1773-1774 he was ready to enter college and applied at Princeton for admission, asking that he be advanced as fast as he could pass his examinations, and saying that he could not afford to spend as much time at college as other boys could and that he was willing to work harder than most boys were; but the trustees of the college denied his request, saying it was vain and unreasonable. Hamilton then went to New York and entered King's College. At this time he was disposed to side with the friends of the King in the controversy between the colonists and the mother country, but after he had been at college for half a year he made a visit to Boston where he heard Samuel Adams, James Otis and others, and came back a most earnest Whig. Hamilton did not graduate owing to the breaking out of the Revolution, but the college afterward gave him an A. M. degree and the legislature of the state, by a special act, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

New York was a little slow in following the action of the other colonies, so the "Sons of Liberty" arranged for a great meeting to be held in what is now known as City Hall Park, but then as "The Fields," for the purpose of arousing the people. Men of wide reputation were there, but a slight youth of seventeen made the speech of the occasion. Hamilton attacked the English Parliament for its action in closing the port of Boston. That speech established his reputation as a clear thinker, a strong, forceful, fearless and eloquent speaker. Possibly his youth and his slight figure added to the impression made by his speech.

About this time Hamilton organized a company of the college students who adopted the name "Hearts of Oak." On the 4th of March, 1776, Hamilton was appointed the captain of the first company of artillery raised in the colony.

He so thoroughly drilled and disciplined it that the attention of General Greene was attracted. He sought the acquaintance of Hamilton and spoke most enthusiastically to Washington about him, saying that he was a natural master of men and a young man worthy the attention of the commander-in-chief. Hamilton and his company rendered efficient service at the Battle of Long Island during the retreat, and later at White Plains, Trenton and Princeton.

On the first of March, 1777, Hamilton was made a member of Washington's staff with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He accepted the position with reluctance as he had hoped to distinguish himself on the field. Almost from the outset, Washington trusted him more than he did any other member of his staff. This may have been because of Hamilton's unusual ability to express himself in writing—a gift of which Washington made great use. This experience of Hamilton prepared him for his future work as he came to have a thorough knowledge of the country, its resources, its difficulties, its weaknesses, its leading men, and the people as a whole, that he could not have acquired in any other capacity. Although Hamilton had had but little experience in the field, he led one of the attacking columns at Yorktown with such skill, courage, vigor and impetuosity as to warrant the belief that he would have distinguished himself as a soldier if opportunity had offered.

The life of Hamilton up to this time gives some idea of the character of the man. He began life as a Loyalist. His tendencies were aristocratic. He reverenced tradition. He sought to achieve matters in an orderly way. He always sought to make the best of conditions that existed. He was unusually free from selfish personal ambition. It was as a statesman and not as a soldier that he rendered invaluable service.

The country had been united only in its opposition to Great Britain. When that binding force was removed, there was nothing to hold the country together. The people of the different states did not know each other. There was prac-

tically no traveling. Very few men ever left the boundaries of the state in which they lived. The different sections of the country were peopled by those differing in race, desires, needs and occupations. They were distrustful of each other. They had all long been trained to fear the exercise of power by a central government, so the Articles of Confederation framed by them gave the central government scarcely any power. The President was simply the presiding officer of Congress. Congress had no power to enforce its laws or its decrees. It could not levy a tax for any purpose whatever, not even to pay the army, the officers of the government, or the interest on its debts. All it could do was to ask the states for money and if the latter did not see fit to furnish it, and usually they did not, Congress was powerless. Of the taxes assessed upon the states for the expenses of 1783 only one-fifth had been paid by the middle of 1785. This condition of affairs was the source of great apprehension to thoughtful men.

In June, 1783, Washington said: "Unless the states will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, everything must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion." He sent a circular letter to the governors of the states in which he said, speaking of the United States:

> This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the moment to establish or ruin their political character forever; this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to our federal government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution, or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics which may play one state again another to prevent their growing importance and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; a blessing or a

curse not to the present age alone, for with our fall will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

Washington closed this letter as follows:

I now make it my earnest prayer that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his Holy protection; that He would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at Large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally that He would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and peaceful temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

At another time Washington wrote:

It is as clear to me as A, B, C that an extension of the federal power would make us one of the most happy, wealthy, respectable and powerful nations; without them we shall soon be everything which is the direct reverse.

On another occasion he said:

The Confederation seems to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To me it is a solecism in politics; indeed, it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature that we should confederate as a nation and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same.

John Jay, in writing to Washington, said:

Our affairs seem to lead to a crisis, something which I cannot see or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive, more so than during the war.

Our treaty of peace with Great Britain provided that all private debts to its citizens should be paid, that the Loyalists should be reimbursed for their property that had been confiscated, and that the Tories should not be persecuted by the states. But Congress had not the power to make good these provisions of the treaty. The Articles of Confederation did not give Congress the power to raise money or control the action of the states. The money was not raised for the purposes specified in the treaty, and the states did persecute the Tories most shamefully, New York being the greatest sinner in this particular. We were discredited abroad. Our ambassadors were sneered at. Most of the nations of Europe refused even to make commercial treaties with us, saying that it was of no use so long as we were one nation when we made treaties but thirteen independent nations in the matter of execution. Their attitude could not be wondered at. It was quite just. Some points on our northern borders were still held by the British and they refused to surrender them until we complied with the provisions of the treaty. This was a source of much irritation and humiliation.

The drift toward anarchy was rapid. Each of the states could coin money, issue paper money, and make tariff laws. This they did. Their paper money and that of Congress soon became practically valueless. When one wished to express in the strongest possible terms his belief that something was absolutely without value, he said it was "not worth a Continental," meaning thereby that it was not worth as much as a note issued by Congress. It is said that a popular barber in Philadelphia papered his shop with Continental notes and that, with the exception that the labor was great on account of the small size of the sheets of paper, it was not an expensive matter. It was facetiously said that when a man went to market he carried his money in a wheelbarrow and brought home his purchases in his vest pocket. Congress was bankrupt. Few of the states were any better off. The country was filled with demagogues. Each state sought its own welfare regardless of the interests of all the others. Connecticut

was on the verge of a war with Pennsylvania. The relations between New York and New Hampshire were strained almost to the breaking point. There were riots and bloodshed in Vermont. Civil war was threatened in Rhode Island. Massachusetts had a rebellion on her hands. Connecticut and New Jersey were threatening commercial non-intercourse with New York. In Virginia there was talk of forming a southern confederacy. Spain was defying us at the mouth of the Mississippi. The states made tariff restrictions against each other. New York discriminated against New Jersey, Pennsylvania against Delaware. When the other New England states practically closed their ports against Great Britain, Connecticut took advantage of the situation and threw hers wide open to the English and passed stringent tariff regulations against Massachusetts. New York, under George Clinton, attempted to build herself up at the expense of all the other states. So it was on every hand. There was universal distress. That something must be done if the country were to be made prosperous, and the union preserved, was clearly apparent to all thinking men.

During the three years preceding the Federal Convention, Washington was busy trying to bring about an improvement of our inland waterways. He favored such improvements for political as well as for commercial reasons, believing that opening communication between the different parts of the country would do much toward cementing more strongly the bonds of union between the states.

An attempt was made to have Virginia and Maryland unite in improving and extending the navigation of the Potomac River; then, as an afterthought, it was suggested that the two states might agree upon a uniform system of duties, currency and other commercial regulations. As the idea of improving the inland waterways developed, it was thought it might be well to connect the headwaters of the Potomac with those of the Ohio, and therefore it would be well to invite Pennsylvania to take part in the proposed conference. Later it was thought advisable to include Dela-

ware, as the scheme of improvement might include a canal connecting the Delaware River with Chesapeake Bay. As the discussion progressed it was finally suggested that a meeting be held at Annapolis to which all the states should be asked to send commissioners to participate in an informal discussion. The date was fixed for the first Monday in September, 1786. The invitations were sent out by the Governor of Virginia. Only Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York were represented. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and North Carolina appointed commissioners but they did not attend the conference. Maryland, which had been much interested at the outset, did not even appoint commissioners. The outcome of the affair was very disheartening to those who had given the matter so much thought.

The convention took no action further than to adopt an address prepared by Hamilton, who was present as a representative of New York. This address, which was sent to all the states, urged that commissioners be appointed by each of the states "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report to Congress such an act as, when agreed to by them and confirmed by the legislature of every state, would effectually provide for the same."

Congress was opposed to this plan and put all possible obstructions in its way. New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were the states most bitterly opposed to a stronger union, and that did the most to prevent its being brought about, but the events that had occurred, and were still occurring, made the people more afraid of anarchy than of centralization. While the matter was still being discussed with great vigor and some bitterness, Virginia chose delegates, naming Washington as one of them. This was approved by the great majority of the people of the whole country. New Jersey, North Carolina, and Delaware followed the example of Virginia. With the exception of Rhode Island,

all the other states joined in the movement and the convention met at Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1787.

The first act of the convention was the choice of a presiding officer and Washington was unanimously elected. This was as it should have been. It was his idea of united action on the part of Virginia and Maryland that aroused discussion and set in motion a train of circumstances that culminated in the Philadelphia convention. It was a remarkable body of men that met in that convention—men fitted by ability, experience and integrity for the work before them. Twenty-nine were university men, graduates of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, William and Mary, Oxford, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Twenty-six of them were not college bred, Washington and Franklin being among this number.

The two most profound and original thinkers among the members were two of the youngest men in the convention—James Madison who was thirty-six years of age, and Alexander Hamilton who was only thirty. The sage of the convention, the man whose ready thought more than once prevented the breaking of that body—Benjamin Franklin—was past four score years of age. Besides Madison, who later became the fourth president of the United States, and Franklin, there were four other signers of the Declaration of Independence, including James Wilson, born and educated in Scotland, one of the most learned jurists this country has ever known, and who had studied the science of government in three European universities. Later he became Justice of the Supreme Court. There was Caleb Strong, ten times chosen governor of Massachusetts; George Wythe, the learned chancellor of Virginia; Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution; Rutledge and Ellsworth, each of whom afterwards served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Johnson, a great lawyer who later became president of Columbia University; Livingston who served eleven years as governor of New Jersey; Patterson who was attorney-general of New Jersey ten terms, once its governor, and later member of the Supreme Court of the United States; and many others fit to rank with

these. There were very few ordinary men in that body. This was natural, as each state felt that its interests, and almost its existence, were at stake and therefore felt the importance of sending its ablest men as representatives.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to give more than a very brief notice of the Federal Convention. There was a very great difference of opinion as to what should be done. Many vexatious questions arose, most of which were settled by compromise. There was also a wide difference of opinion as to what it was wise to recommend to Congress. Many thought it would be better to resort to halfway measures that would correct a few of the more glaring defects of the Articles of Confederation, taking this view not because they believed it the ideal thing to do but because they did not believe the people would approve a plan for a thoroughly satisfactory form of government. This was a form of moral cowardice that has been all too common in our political history, and that would have prevailed at this time but for the position taken by Washington. Speaking seriously, solemnly and almost hopelessly, he said: "It is too probable that no plan we may propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If to placate the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which wise and honest men can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

This put an end to makeshifts. The convention prepared a draft of a constitution to which most of the members put their names. A few would not sign. It was provided that the constitution should be binding upon the states that approved it if as many as nine acted favorably. It was to be voted upon through conventions called by the states for that purpose. Many prominent men and earnest patriots were unalterably opposed to a centralized government and opposed the adoption of the constitution with all their ability. Some opposed it because it gave the large and the small states equal power in the Senate; others because it did not

give them equal power in both branches of Congress. Rhode Island had not sent any delegates to the convention and, of course, was opposed to the constitution. There was a formidable opposition in New York, Massachusetts and Virginia. The most bitter fight was made in New York.

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, Hamilton began to prepare the public mind for action. He entered upon what might be called a campaign of education. In connection with Jay and Madison, he issued a periodical the collected numbers of which are known as the *Federalist*. There were eighty-four numbers published. Of these, Hamilton wrote fifty, Madison twenty-nine and Jay five. The first number was issued in October, 1787; the last in May, 1788. The idea of the *Federalist* was wholly Hamilton's. It is the only series of political articles that is still read after the expiration of a century and a quarter. The writings of those who opposed the constitution have long since been forgotten. Of the *Federalist* Fiske says it was "perhaps the most famous of American books and undoubtedly the most profound and suggestive treatise on government that has ever been written."

In the *Federalist* Hamilton attempted to show the defects of the Articles of Confederation; the dangers from conflicts between the states, from foreign foes and influences; the economy in avoiding the maintenance of a navy and army by each state; the expense of maintaining thirteen separate governments to accomplish those things that a single central government could accomplish better and at much less expense; safety from domestic factions and insurrections, and the many other advantages that would accrue from a central government having suitable powers.

The New York convention met at Poughkeepsie on the 17th of June, 1787. New York, Westchester, Kings and Richmond counties sent delegates in favor of the adoption of the proposed federal constitution. Albany, Montgomery, Washington, Columbia, Dutchess, Ulster and Orange counties sent delegates opposed to the constitution. Suffolk and

Queens counties sent divided delegations. Hamilton, Livingston, Jay, Morris and Duane were the leaders in favor of adoption and Clinton, Smith, Lansing, Yates, of those opposed.

Hamilton seemed to have undertaken a hopeless task. Over two-thirds of the delegates chosen to the convention were opposed to adoption. George Clinton, the governor of the state, the only governor the state had had up to this time, was bitterly opposed to the constitution. He was one of the ablest men in the state—able, masterful, an astute politician, and a man of indomitable will. With him was Melancthon Smith, one of the ablest lawyers in the state and a forceful and eloquent speaker. Clinton was chosen president of the convention by a unanimous vote. The opening address was made by Robert Livingston in favor of adoption. Among other things, he said: "I will not remind you of our national bankruptcy, or the effect it has upon our public measures and the private misery that it causes; nor will I wound your feelings by a recapitulation of the insults we daily receive from nations whose injuries we are compelled to repay by the advantages of our commerce. These topics have been frequently touched, they are in every man's mind; they lie heavily at every patriot's heart." Livingston made a lengthy address and spoke frequently during the convention. Hamilton spoke nearly every day and often several times a day, always with convincing clearness.

When the New York convention met, eight states had adopted the constitution. Clinton hoped and expected that New Hampshire and Virginia would reject it. In the latter state Patrick Henry and other eminent patriots were opposing it bitterly. Up to this time the following action had been taken:

Delaware adopted the constitution, December 6, 1787, without opposition;

Pennsylvania adopted the constitution, December 12, 1787, by a vote of 46 to 23;

New Jersey adopted the constitution, December 16, 1787, without opposition;

Georgia adopted the constitution, January 2, 1788, without opposition;

Connecticut adopted the constitution January 9, 1788, by a vote of 128 to 40;

Massachusetts adopted the constitution, February 6, 1788, by a vote of 187 to 168;

Maryland adopted the constitution, April 28, 1788, by a vote of 63 to 11;

South Carolina adopted the constitution, May 23, 1788, by a vote of 149 to 73.

Forty-six of the sixty-five delegates to the convention were elected to vote against the adoption of the constitution. Hamilton wrote to his friends: "Two-thirds of the delegates and four-sevenths of the people are against us." The first act of the opposition was an attempt to postpone action for the present but this was so manifestly improper that Clinton could not hold his delegates on that proposition and he was beaten. The proposition was to postpone action till the other states had tried the plan that New York might see how it worked. This was regarded as weak and cowardly and an evasion of the question they had been elected to pass upon.

Hamilton was attacked personally and it was with some difficulty that he held the convention to the discussion of the constitution and the ignoring of personalities. He was on his feet day after day, explaining, reasoning, pleading, dealing with the minutest details. No other delegate had anything like Hamilton's complete understanding of the provisions of the proposed constitution or its probable effects upon the state and the nation, if adopted. No one else in the convention, or in the whole country, with the exception of Madison, equaled Hamilton in a general knowledge of the science of government or of the history of the government of nations and the light which that history throws on the science of government.

The convention was slow in coming to a vote. Clinton hesitated, not knowing just what the effect of Hamilton's arguments had been. Hamilton was in no hurry as he waited the action of New Hampshire and Virginia. Finally came the news that New Hampshire had adopted the constitution by a vote of 57 to 46. This made the ninth state but still New York held back. The opposition finally proposed a conditional ratification, with a long list of amendments. Smith proposed ratification with the right to withdraw if the amendments were not accepted. Hamilton discussed this, making a clear, logical and brilliant speech, so convincing that Mr. Smith admitted that a conditional ratification was an absurdity.

On the 20th of June, Virginia ratified the constitution by a vote of 89 to 79. Mr. Smith then announced that the arguments of Hamilton had convinced him that both the welfare of the nation and of the state demanded the adoption of the constitution. After that the matter resolved itself into a question of phraseology. The vote was 30 to 27. Hamilton had won a great victory for his country. It was purely an intellectual victory for himself. He had not the magnetism of Clay. He did not win because of his personality.

While enough states had accepted the constitution to insure the new government without New York, the vote of that state was hardly less important on that account. While in population New York was fifth, it was first in most respects. In military importance, financially and commercially it was first. Had New York not entered the union there would have been the New England group of states on the north separated by a foreign power from the states on the south, and under such circumstances the union would have been short-lived. So, it is to the adopted son of New York that we owe the existence of our government. Without his influence the effort to form a union could not have succeeded. Nothing is clearer than that.

While it is outside the original purpose of this sketch, it may not be out of place to present another matter in which

Hamilton rendered a service to the country, second only to that of securing the adoption of the constitution; in fact, it made secure the perpetuity of the government that had been organized. In Washington's administration the management of the finances was a matter of immediate and great importance. The states were not yet welded together even if they had agreed to come under the same form of government. The nation was in debt. Every state was in debt. Neither the states nor the nation were in position to pay their debts. Hamilton proposed to have the nation assume three classes of debts:

1. The foreign debt.
2. Domestic debts.
3. Debts owed by the several state governments to private citizens.

There was much discussion over these propositions, especially the last, but in the end Hamilton succeeded in carrying out his policy and so contributed largely to bind the states more firmly together. To insure funds Hamilton provided for a tariff both for revenue and for protection, and the young nation was soon in a position to pay its debts and command the respect of the nations of the earth.

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XIV

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON AND THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

The acquisition of Louisiana is commonly credited to Thomas Jefferson but if he, and he only, had had to do with the negotiations with France, Louisiana in all probability would never have been ours. Jefferson did not believe that we had any authority under the Constitution to acquire foreign territory and when, in the course of events, he became convinced that the possession of New Orleans was necessary to our existence as a nation and that to prevent endless disputes it was wise to acquire all the territory east of the Mississippi, he was still unalterably opposed to the acquisition of a foot of land west of the Mississippi, and wrote in the strongest terms against any attempt to make such acquisition. He declared that that section was mainly a desert and that it would not be settled for a thousand years and that, in case we secured it, we would find it an endless bill of expense and source of trouble.

When all that vast territory was virtually thrown at us by Napoleon, and Livingston had executed a treaty with France for its purchase, Jefferson was greatly surprised and embarrassed beyond expression. He wished to delay action till an amendment to the Constitution could be enacted authorizing the purchase—a course that would have so delayed matters that Napoleon would undoubtedly have withdrawn the treaty. The truth is that circumstances forced Jefferson, much against his will, to consent to the purchase of Louisiana. The Senate gladly approved the treaty.

One needs to have a pretty clear idea of the general situation in order to fully appreciate how Louisiana came to be ours. France and England had had a long struggle for the

possession of Canada, and when England became the victor France was left with a vast stretch of country that had no outlet except by the way of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. This great territory, for reasons that were deemed convincing, was ceded to Spain. This ended the hopes of France for building up a great colonial power. But when Napoleon dominated France and determined her policy he at once set about trying to recover the American territory that France had given to Spain. Spain possessed this territory. France wanted it. England did not wish her to have it. It was becoming necessary to the United States, at least enough of it to enable us to control the lower Mississippi. Jefferson, who had been elected President, did not believe in a strong central government. He believed that we had no authority for acquiring foreign territory. Altogether it was a perplexing situation.

Jefferson tried to persuade Livingston to enter his cabinet as secretary of the navy. Failing in this, he made him Minister to France. Livingston had formerly been a Federalist, as had all the numerous members of the influential Livingston family. When they came to the support of Jefferson, it was an acquisition worth having.

What manner of a man was it that Jefferson had sent to France to enforce the spoliation claims against that country and to secure a right of way down the Mississippi, for this is what was expected of our minister to France? Robert R. Livingston was born at Clermont, New York, in 1746. He graduated from King's College when only eighteen years of age and soon became one of the leading men of his time. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1775, 1776 and 1777. He was one of the committee of five appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was a member of the committee appointed to draft the first constitution of the state of New York. He was secretary of foreign affairs, the most important position under the Confederation, from 1781 to 1783. He was chancellor of the state of New York from 1777 to 1809. He was one of the most influential members of

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Robert R. Livingston

the New York State Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution. He opened the debate at that convention with an address that was remarkable for its learning, lucidity and force.

As soon as Livingston reached France, he heard rumors that Louisiana had been re-ceded to that country. Talleyrand, when asked about it, said that there had been conversation in regard to the matter but that nothing had been decided; yet at this very time the treaty had been made and our minister to England knew the text of it. Technically, Talleyrand may have told the truth as at that time the treaty had not been signed and was not for some considerable time thereafter.

Livingston put forth every effort to induce Napoleon to make a satisfactory arrangement with the United States, but did not receive the slightest encouragement; in fact, Napoleon wanted the country for himself, wanted all of it, and cared nothing about the wishes or the needs of the feeble country across the sea. Livingston prepared a very complete statement to present to Talleyrand. He showed him how important, how absolutely necessary, an outlet down the Mississippi was to the United States, and how useless that territory was to France; that in case of another war with England, France could not hope to hold the country. But it seemed idle talk. In the meantime the situation changed. Napoleon decided to take possession of the Island of St. Domingo, preparatory to occupying New Orleans. This alarmed Jefferson, who wrote Livingston in regard to the reported retrocession of Louisiana by Spain, saying:

It completely reverses all of the political relations of the United States and will form a new epoch in our political course. . . . There is upon the globe one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than one-half our whole produce and contain more than one-half our inhabitants. France,

placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific disposition, her feeble state, would induce her to increase her facilities there, so that her possession of the place would hardly be felt by us, and it would not, perhaps, be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France; the impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us and our character, which, though quiet and loving peace and pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth; these circumstances render it impossible that France and the United States can long continue friends when they meet in so irritable a position. They, as well as we, must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

When Jefferson first learned that Spain had ceded Louisiana to France it did not disturb him at all. In fact, he seemed rather pleased. He wrote Livingston intimating that it might be well to secure West Florida of Spain through the influence of France, saying: "Such proof on the part of France of goodwill toward the United States would contribute to reconcile the latter to France's possession of New Orleans." But when it became apparent that France wanted the whole country and was to proceed to build up a powerful government there, things looked quite different. It was a year later, after Napoleon had occupied St. Domingo and, by his arbitrary acts, aroused and incensed the American merchants and shipmasters, that Jefferson saw a new light and wrote Livingston as just stated.

On the 22d of November, 1801, Leclerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law, sailed to St. Domingo with ten thousand men. On the following September he wrote Napoleon that of the

twenty-eight thousand men that had been sent to St. Domingo only four thousand were fit for duty, and that if he were to conquer the island he must have twelve thousand more men at once and five thousand more the following spring. A month later, Leclerc died of yellow fever and the attempt to possess St. Domingo was abandoned.

In 1791 the negroes of St. Domingo, under the leadership of Touissant L'Ouverture, rose against their masters and gained possession of nearly all of the island. When Leclerc came to St. Domingo, L'Ouverture was captured through treachery, and sent to France, where he died in prison. But the French could not imprison the yellow fever, and disease aided the blacks to defeat the French. Little do the people of the United States appreciate what they owe to Touissant L'Ouverture. General Victor had been selected to occupy New Orleans, but it was not deemed wise to occupy that place unless the French held the key to the Gulf, and that had been prevented by the negroes of St. Domingo.

With the defeat of the French in the West Indies, and their abandonment of the island they had lost so many men in an effort to subdue, Jefferson again changed his attitude and wrote Livingston that the possession of Louisiana by the French "was not important enough to risk a breach of peace."

On the 16th of October, 1802, Morales, the Spanish Intendant, withdrew the right of deposit at New Orleans, wiping out with the stroke of a pen all that had been gained by a decade of diplomacy. The people of Kentucky and Tennessee were wild with anger. The King of Spain, in the treaty of 1795, had agreed to "permit the citizens of the United States for the space of three years from this time to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of stores, and His Majesty promises to continue this permission if he finds during that time it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or, if he should not continue thus, he will assign to them on another part of the

banks of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment." The three years expired during Adams's administration without any action whatever being taken by Spain.

Previous to the Revolution Daniel Boone and a few others had crossed the Alleghenies from North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania and entered the rich valleys of the Ohio and Kentucky. After the close of the war a steady stream of settlers crossed the mountains to the fertile lands and excellent hunting grounds of Kentucky and Tennessee. The population increased rapidly and, at the time under consideration, there were probably forty thousand people west of the mountains. Great crops were raised, but it cost them more to carry their produce across the mountains than it was worth. Their only outlet was by the way of the Mississippi and, when they were deprived of this, their condition was pitiful. It was a condition not to be endured. They and their friends in the east were willing to fight if need be for the right to use the Mississippi River.

Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, declared that the country was "large enough for our descendants to the thousand thousandth generation." He could not consistently advocate a great expansion of territory soon after making this declaration. When Congress assembled, Jefferson stated that the cession of Louisiana to France would make a change in our foreign relations, but gave no idea of what the change would be or what his purposes were. But Congress was not so moderate.

On the 14th of February, 1803, James Ross of Pennsylvania made an address in the Senate in which he said:

To the free navigation of the Mississippi, we had an undoubted right by nature, and from the position of our western country. This right and the right of deposit in the Island of New Orleans had been acknowledged and fixed by treaty in 1795. That treaty had been in actual operation and execution for many years; and now, without any pretense of abuse or violation on our part the officers of the Spanish government deny that right, refuse the place of deposit,

and add the most offensive of all insults by forbidding us from landing on any part of their territory and shutting us out as a common nuisance. . . . Why not seize, then, what is so essential to us as a nation? Why not expel the wrongdoers? Wrongdoers by their own confession, to whom by seizure we are doing no injury. Paper contracts or treaties have proved too feeble. Plant yourselves on the river, fortify the banks, invite those who have an interest at stake to defend it; do justice to yourselves when your adversaries deny it; and leave the event to Him who controls the fate of nations.

On the 15th of February a confidential message was received by the Senate from the House transmitting a bill placing two million dollars at the disposal of the President for the purchase of New Orleans and East and West Florida.

On the 16th Mr. Ross of Pennsylvania introduced a series of resolutions authorizing the President to take immediate possession of New Orleans and the adjacent territory, and to call into active service the militia of South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee or the Mississippi Territory. On the 22d the member from Delaware supported the resolution of Mr. Ross by a speech, as did Gouverneur Morris of New York.

Jefferson did not wish to act hastily, or at all, if he could help it. It was apparent that he must do something, or seem to do so, if he were to have the future support of the country, so he nominated Monroe as a special envoy to France and Spain, not that he expected Monroe would be more efficient than Livingston had been but that the appointment would look as though the government intended to do something, and so appease the people of the West, who were demanding that they be protected and threatening secession in case they were not given it. If they could be quieted for a time no one knew what might happen, so thought Jefferson, who wrote Governor Garrard of Kentucky saying that Monroe was about to set out for France "to secure our rights and interests on the Mississippi and in the country eastward of that."

Madison, in writing to Pinckney, our Minister to Spain,

speaking of the action of the Intendant Morales in regard to the right of deposit at New Orleans and the feeling of the western people regarding the Mississippi, said: "The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic states formed into one stream."

Livingston, in writing to Madison regarding the retrocession by Spain, said:

> I have every reason to believe that the Floridas are not included. They will, for the present at least, remain in the hands of Spain. There never was a government with which less could be done by negotiations than here. There is no people, no legislature, no counselors. One man is everything. He seldom asks advice and never hears it unasked. His ministers are mere clerks and his legislature and counselors parade officers. Though the sense of every reflecting man about him is against this wild expedition, no one dares tell him so. Were it not for the uneasiness it excites at home, it would give me none, for I am persuaded that the whole will end in a relinquishment of the country and transfer of the capital to the United States.

When Monroe sailed for France the administration at Washington assured the French minister that New Orleans was a necessity for the Americans and of no use to France. This minister wrote Talleyrand that it was impossible for a government to be more bitter than was the United States.

In April, 1803, the Spanish minister at Washington informed Madison that a special messenger from his government reported that the right of deposit would be restored. At this time Napoleon had reached the conclusion to abandon his colonial enterprise. Just what influenced him may never be known; possibly his hatred of England was the chief reason.

When Monroe sailed for France his instructions were rather general, but provided for three contingencies:

1. The purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas for any sum not exceeding ten million dollars;

2. If Napoleon would not sell any territory, not even a few square miles upon which a post might be built, a renewal

LOUISIANA
INDIANA TERRITORY
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
NEW YORK
VER.
N.H.
MASS.
MASS.
CT.
R.I.
PENN.
N.J.
MD.
DEL.
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
N. CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
DISPUTED BY GEORGIA & U.S.
GEORGIA
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
WEST FLORIDA
NEW ORLEANS
EAST FLORIDA
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
TEXAS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
THE UNITED STATES 1800
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600

of the right of deposit was to be asked on as favorable terms as possible;

3. If nothing could be accomplished, special instructions were to be sent to Monroe.

Secretary Madison stated that the United States had no disposition to acquire any territory beyond the Mississippi, nor to take the slightest step in that direction. It is perfectly clear that when Monroe sailed for France neither he, Madison, nor Jefferson had any thought of acquiring the vast territory that came to us, or that there was on their part any special desire to acquire anything more than a perfectly secure right of way down the Mississippi.

This was the situation when, on Sunday, April 10th, Napoleon summoned Talleyrand and Marbois to meet him at St. Cloud for a secret council. Here he announced his purpose to cede Louisiana. The next day Napoleon sent for Marbois and said to him:

I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I wish to cede, it is the whole colony without reserving anything of it. I know the value of what I abandon, and I have proved sufficiently the importance that I attach to that province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain was for the object of its recovery. I renounce it therefore with great regret. To insist upon its preservation would be madness. I direct you to negotiate this affair with envoys of Congress. Do not even wait for the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston. But I have need of a great deal of money for this war, and I should not like to begin it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, whose trade has never indemnified them. Large sums have been lent to companies and to agriculturists and they will never be reimbursed to the treasury. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I were to regulate my terms on what these vast territories will be worth to the United States, the indemnities would have no limits. I shall be moderate, in consideration of the necessity to sell in which I am. But remember this well; I want fifty millions, and for less than that amount I shall not treat. I would rather make a desperate attempt

to keep these beautiful countries. Tomorrow you will have full powers.

That very day, Monday, April 11, 1803, Talleyrand learned what instructions had been given Marbois and, meeting Livingston, asked him if the United States wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Our minister was greatly surprised and replied that they wished only New Orleans and the Floridas, but he thought that France might as well sell that part of Louisiana north of the Arkansas River, as that part of the country would be of no use to France. Talleyrand replied that with New Orleans in the possession of the United States, no part of Louisiana would be of any use to France, and asked what the United States would give for the whole country. Livingston said that he had not given that matter any thought, but he presumed the Americans would be willing to pay 20,000,000 francs provided France would pay the citizens of the United States for spoliation claims since 1800. Talleyrand declared the sum altogether too small and Livingston closed the interview by saying he would think the matter over. From this moment Livingston was determined upon the purchase, but proposed to make the best terms possible. He had a broader vision than Jefferson and saw possibilities in the vast territory that Jefferson never dreamed of. The next day Talleyrand and Livingston had another interview without result.

Livingston had an interview with Marbois the evening of Wednesday, April 13th, in which terms were discussed. Late that night he wrote Secretary Madison, saying:

As to the quantum I have yet made up no opinion. The field open to us is infinitely larger than our instructions contemplate, the revenue increasing, and the land more adequate to sink the capital, should we even go to the sum proposed by Marbois, nay, I persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe, whose vicinity we should not fear. I speak now without reflection and without having seen Mr. Monroe, as it was near mid-

night when I left the treasury office and it is now near three o'clock. It is so very important that you should be apprized that a negotiation is actually opened even before Mr. Monroe has been presented, in order to calm the tumult which the news of war will renew, that I have lost no time in communicating it. We shall do all that we can to cheapen the purchase but my present sentiment is that we shall buy.

From this time to the actual signing of the treaty, there was constant dickering. Livingston and Monroe tried to cheapen the property saying that West Florida was made up of "barren sands and sunken marshes," and that New Orleans was "a small town built of wood," and that the territory was "valuable to the United States only because it contained the mouths of some of their rivers."

Livingston grew very anxious, as his correspondence shows, lest something should prevent the consummation of the proposed purchase. It was finally agreed to pay France $15,000,000, but one-third of this sum was to be devoted to the liquidation of the claims of American citizens against France. The treaty was signed on the 2d of May, 1803. After the treaty was signed, Napoleon said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Livingston said to Monroe and Marbois: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives."

Jefferson was thunderstruck when he learned that a treaty had been made for the purchase of the whole of Louisiana. On May 13, 1803, Livingston and Monroe wrote Madison, saying that they knew they had exceeded their powers but expressing their confidence that they had acted wisely. They said:

By this measure we have sought to carry into effect, to the utmost of our power, the wise and benevolent policy of our government, on the principles laid down in our institutions. The possession of the left bank of the river, had it been attainable, alone would, it is true,

have accomplished much in that respect, but it is equally true that it would have left much still to be accomplished. By it our people would have had an outlet to the ocean, in which no power would have had a right to disturb them; but while the other bank remained in the possession of a foreign power, circumstances might occur to make the neighborhood of such power highly injurious to us in many of our most important concerns. A divided jurisdiction over the river might beget jealousies, discontents, and dissensions, which the wisest policy on our part could not prevent or control. With a train of colonial governments established along the western bank, from the entrance of the river far into the interior, under the command of military men, it would be difficult to prescribe that state of things which would be necessary to the peace and tranquillity of our country. A single act of a capricious, unfriendly or unprincipled subaltern might wound our best interests, violate our most unquestionable rights and involve us in war. But by this acquisition, which comprises within our limits this great river, and all the streams which empty into it from their sources to the ocean, the apprehension of all these disasters is banished for ages from the United States. . . . We separate ourselves in a great measure from the European world and its concerns, especially its wars and intrigues. We make in fine a great stride to real and substantial independence.

What to do with the treaty was a question of great anxiety to Jefferson. He did not believe that the Constitution warranted the acquisition of foreign territory. It is not probable that he ever changed his mind on that point, but he felt that the life of the nation made the possession of the Mississippi a necessity, and the life of the nation was more to be considered than the authority of the Constitution. First, Jefferson thought of giving the land west of the Mississippi to the Indians in return for their holdings on the east side of it. Then, he considered amending the Constitution so as to authorize the purchase of Louisiana, but his political friends told him that this would be suicidal; that the Federalists would oppose him; that there would be a long and acrimonious debate; that bitter feelings would be aroused; and Livingston wrote home that a delay would very likely result in the withdrawal of the treaty by Napoleon and that there was a

strong feeling against the treaty both in France and in Spain. Therefore, Jefferson reluctantly advocated its confirmation. It was a popular measure and easily secured the necessary votes in Congress. Of course there was opposition. There always is to any measure of moment. The opposition urged that "France had no right to cede it; that the United States had no right to receive it; that under the conditions of the treaty it was not worth having on any terms; that it would destroy the balance of the Union; that it would draw valued inhabitants from other parts of the United States; that it would poison the settlers; that the treaty was an extra-constitutional proceeding; that the President and the Senate did not represent the opinion of the country; and that patriotic men ought to oppose such a pernicious measure."

The treaty was approved and the territory of the country was doubled. One citizen of New York had given us a form of government under which the people might prosper; another, Robert Livingston, had given us a country to govern. But for him the United States would have consisted of little more than a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic Coast. But Livingston was robbed of his laurels. The country was made to believe that the acquisition of Louisiana was the work of Jefferson and Monroe. Livingston made enemies by his success. He had accomplished what Jefferson and Madison had not dared ask for, and which they did not want, but the treaty was popular and it was a political necessity that Livingston be robbed of his laurels; otherwise his popularity might interfere with the political plans of those in power. It was not a difficult task to prevent a popular uprising for Livingston. He was not popular. Hale speaks of him as "The Most Illustrious American of his time," and Franklin called him "The Cicero of America," but he was not the type of man to appeal to the masses. Alexander says of him that "He lacked the creative genius of Hamilton, the prescient gifts of Jay, and the skill of Aaron Burr for selfish purposes; but he was at home in debate with the ablest men of his time,

a master of sarcasm, of trenchant wit, and of felicitous rhetoric.''

Time rights many wrongs. The world now knows Charles Lee for a traitor and Gates for a pitiable specimen of a man, and it is coming to be pretty generally known that we owe the great Louisiana territory and the vast other stretches of country that came to us as a corollary of the Louisiana purchase, to Robert R. Livingston of New York.

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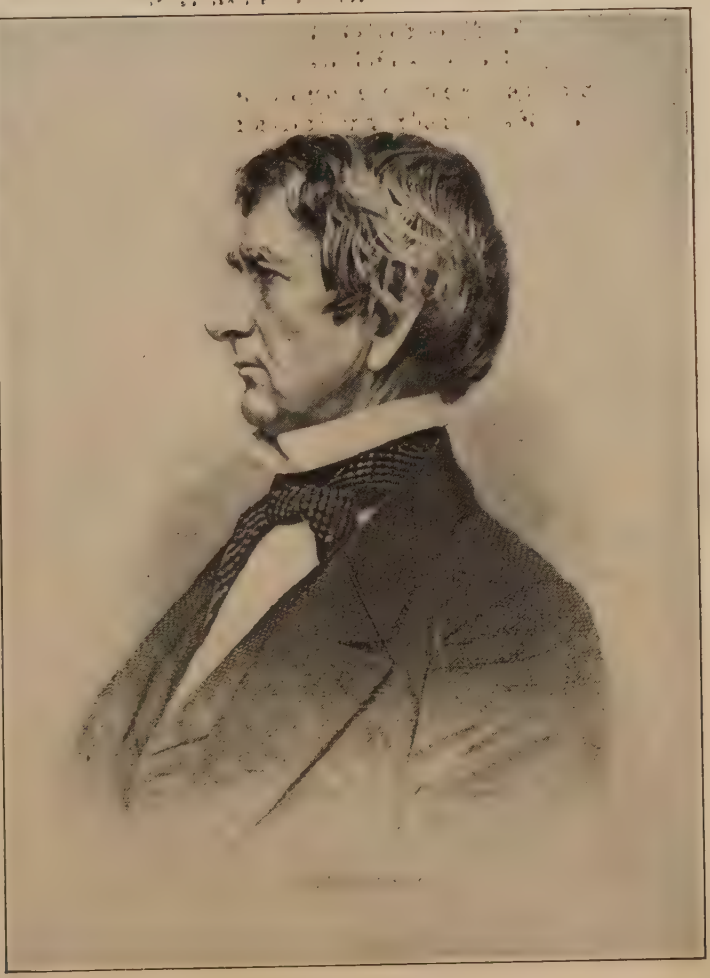
Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association.

XV

WILLIAM H. SEWARD AND THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA

William H. Seward was born at Florida, Orange County, on the 16th of May, 1801. He was of Welsh descent. His grandfather, John Seward, was a colonel in the Revolutionary War. His father was a physician, farmer, merchant, county politician, magistrate, and in 1804 represented the county of Orange in the legislature. Seward's father kept slaves as did most of the people at that time who could afford to do so. For some reason Seward very early became an earnest abolitionist. He noticed that none of the children of slaves, except those of his father, attended school.

When sixteen years of age Seward entered Union College. Like many a young man since, young Seward spent more than his allowance and incurred debts that his father would not pay. The young man became so mortified at his inability to pay his debts that he left college some six months before he was to graduate and, without notifying his parents, went to Georgia and engaged as principal of an academy. He sent a paper home that contained an announcement of the school with his name as principal. His father wrote to the school authorities and said that his son had run away from college and was under age, and that he would prosecute anyone who harbored him. The outcome was that he returned home, after receiving a letter from his sister, who said that his mother was prostrated with grief over his actions and other troubles. He entered an attorney's office for a time, then reentered Union College and completed his course. The title of his commencement oration gave some intimation of his future career, being, "The Integrity of the American Union."



WILLIAM H. SEWARD

It is not the purpose of this article to give a biography of Mr. Seward but merely enough of his career to give some idea of the character of the man; to show why he would be likely to favor the territorial extension of our country, and why he would have sufficient influence to bring about the purchase of Alaska at a time when there was no sentiment in favor of such a measure; and when, in addition to this, the country was staggering under an almost overwhelming burden of debt, pressed to meet existing expenses, and illy prepared to assume additional responsibilities. Seward was always an optimist.

Immediately after graduation Seward entered the law office of John Duer at Goshen, where he had studied for a time after his return from Georgia. The following spring he became a student in the office of John Anthon in New York City. In 1832 he returned to Goshen and formed a partnership with Ogden Hoffman, a brilliant young lawyer, though Seward had not yet been admitted to the bar.

Seward was interested in politics from the outset of his career and opposed the Clintonians as the followers of George Clinton were called. He was a firm believer in democracy as optimists usually are.

A constitutional convention was called at Albany in 1821 and Seward was greatly chagrined to find that the "Clintonians" were more democratic than were the members of his own party. He felt that his party really favored slavery, to which he was strongly and unalterably opposed.

In 1822 Seward went to Auburn and formed a partnership with Elijah Miller, whose daughter he afterward married. He reached Auburn on Christmas morning. It was a maxim in those days that a lawyer must eschew society and politics and that no newspaper must be seen on any office table. In regard to this, he said: "I was practising law only for a competence, and had no ambition for its honors, still less any cupidity for its greater rewards. I thought that my usefulness and my happiness lay in the devotion of what time and study could be saved from professional pursuits to promote

the interests of the community in which I lived, and of the commonwealth. The newspapers and the magazines of the day, therefore, those not only of one party but of both parties, were always at my hand, while the law books were only taken down from the cases for reference when necessary. I took my pew and paid my assessments in church, attended the municipal, political and social meetings and caucuses, acting generally as secretary. I enrolled myself in the militia and wore my musket on parade. I paid my contributions and, when required, managed dancing assemblies, although for want of skill I have never danced myself. And so I rendered to my neighbors and acquaintances such good offices as my training and position made convenient."

This quotation is made for the purpose of showing that Seward was not a slave to precedent, which fact is also shown in his practice. At that time it was customary for all young lawyers to employ more experienced men to try their important cases. This Seward never did, and to this self-reliance and self-confidence his success in life was no doubt largely due.

It was in 1828 that Seward first became prominent in politics. A convention with about three hundred and fifty delegates, representing the young men of the state, met at Utica. There was a bitter strife over the election of a president of the convention. The delegates from New York City demanded the choice of their leading delegate. The up-state people contended that the election of a man from the city would antagonize the country members. After an acrimonious debate lasting two days in which Seward counseled harmony and was not a candidate for office and had not been mentioned for president, a recess was taken and then Seward was unanimously chosen—thus early becoming a popular leader.

A meeting of the leaders of the anti-Masonic party was held at Albany in 1830. Seward and Thurlow Weed were among the most influential men there. The convention arranged to establish a paper which was to be known as the

Albany Evening Journal. Weed was to be editor and manager.

On the 11th of September of the same year, there was a meeting of members of the anti-Masonic leaders at Philadelphia. There were delegates from New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Maryland and Michigan. It was at this convention that Seward first met Thaddeus Stevens, with whom he was so intimately connected in political matters later in life. They agreed in their views in regard to popular education, internal improvements, slavery and other matters. It was about this time that Seward was elected a member of the state Senate. At that time the Senate consisted of thirty-two members and they were chosen for four years, one-quarter of the body being elected each year.

As early as 1831—the date of the savage outbreak of the negro slaves at Southampton, Virginia—Seward warned the people that it would be necessary to secure the peaceful reform of the great evil of slavery, but there was no general response to his warnings.

It was while Seward was in the state Senate that the question of chartering railroads came up. He held that railroads should be regarded simply as public highways to be constructed exclusively for the public welfare by the authority of the state, and subject to its immediate direction as had been the case with the canals. In this view he had no following. Yielding to the views of his associates, he endeavored, also without success, to prevent the granting of charters for long periods and to hold stockholders personally responsible for the acts of the companies.

In 1838 Seward was elected governor of the state, defeating William L. Marcy, who was a candidate for reëlection. In his first message he recommended the encouragement of immigration and of internal improvements. He favored the prosecution of work on the canals and the encouragement of the building of railways. The following recommendations made by him show the progressive character of the man: He

urged the establishment of a Board of Internal Improvements, the encouragement of charitable institutions, greater efforts for the reclamation of juvenile delinquents, the establishment of school district libraries, the education of the colored race, the reformation of the practice of the courts so as to lessen delays, the cutting off of superfluous offices, the substitution of fixed salaries for fees, and the authorization of banking under general laws, instead of special charters. These recommendations were very generally pronounced visionary, but they have long since become realities.

In 1839 the governor of Virginia demanded the extradition of three black men whom he claimed had aided the escape of a slave. Seward in his reply said: "There is no law in this state that recognizes slavery—no statute which admits that one man can be the property of another, or that one man can be stolen from another. On the other hand, our Constitution and laws interdict slavery in every form." Seward refused to surrender the fugitives. This led to an outburst of indignation not only from Virginia, but from Missouri, South Carolina and other slave-holding states. This controversy brought Seward prominently before the country as an anti-slavery man.

Seward was reëlected governor in 1840, but was never after that a candidate for an office to be filled by a popular vote. In the Taylor campaign of 1848 Seward took very positive ground against slavery. In a speech made at Cleveland, Ohio, among other things he said:

> There are two antagonistical elements of society in America—freedom and slavery. Freedom is in harmony with our system of government and with the spirit of the age, and is therefore passive and quiescent. Slavery is in conflict with that system, with justice and with humanity, and is therefore organized, defensive, active, and perpetually aggressive. Freedom insists on the emancipation and elevation of labor. Slavery demands a soil moistened with tears and blood. These elements divide and classify the American people into two parties. Each of these two parties has its court and its scepter. The throne of one is amid the rocks of the Allegheny Mountains;

the throne of the other is reared on the sands of South Carolina. One of these parties, the party of slavery, regards disunion as among the means of defense and not always the last to be employed. The other maintains the union of the states, one and inseparable, now and forever, as the highest duty of the American people to themselves, to posterity, to mankind. Slavery was once the sin, not of some of the states only, but of all of them; not of one nation only, but of all nations. No American state has yet delivered itself entirely. We in New York are guilty of slavery still, by withholding the right of suffrage from the race we have emancipated. You in Ohio are guilty in the same way, by a system of "black laws" still more aristocratic and odious. It is written in the Constitution of the United States that five slaves shall count equal to three free men as a basis of representation, and it is written also, in violation of the Divine Law, that we shall surrender the fugitive slave who takes refuge at our fireside from his relentless pursuers. "What then," you say, "can nothing be done because the public conscience is inert?" Yes, much can be done—everything can be done. Slavery can be limited to its present bounds; it can be ameliorated; it can and *must* be abolished, and you and I can and must do it.

This speech made the attitude of Seward so clear that no one after that could fail to know where he stood on the subject of slavery.

In 1849 Seward was chosen United States Senator and the same year Ohio sent Salmon P. Chase to the Senate. These two men brought to the Senate views quite displeasing to the older members, who did not wish the slavery question discussed when it could be avoided. They had patched up a peace that these two men would not observe.

Seward entered the Senate as the great controversy over the admission of California began. For a long time the Senate had been a strong pro-slavery body. Seward was the most pronounced anti-slavery man in the Senate. His Cleveland speech, already quoted, and the fact that he was one of the leaders of the Whig party made him an object of hatred to the pro-slavery men. Seward, Chase and Hale were the bitterest opponents of slavery in the Senate and frequently were

the only opponents of slavery measures. Seward's opponents in the Senate were arrogant and from outside he received every day scurrilous anonymous letters and newspapers with marked articles that were abusive and extremely obnoxious, but Seward was so constituted that this policy on the part of his enemies did not much annoy him, and he never retaliated in kind or indulged in personalities. Early in the session Seward said: "I assail the motives of no senator. I am not to be drawn into personal altercations by any interrogations addressed to me. I acknowledge the patriotism, the wisdom, the purity of every member of this body. I never have assailed the motives of honorable senators in any instance. I never shall. When my own are assailed, I shall stand upon my own position. My life and acts must speak for me. I shall not be my own defender or advocate." He adhered to this position during the whole of his senatorial career.

In connection with the right of petition, which the southern representatives objected to in all matters relating to slavery, Seward said: "I have not yet seen the petition of any human being that I would not receive, and I do not know that I ever shall. The Constitution imposes no restriction or modification upon the right of petition. We are not above giving reasons to our fellow-men. The Senate of the United States is not above the petition of the humblest citizen of the United States."

In advocating the admission of California, Seward, in discussing the claims of the slaveholders that they had a right under the Constitution to go into the new territories and carry their slaves with them—thus virtually establishing slavery there—said: "The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty. But *there is a higher law than the Constitution,* which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purposes."

Replying to threats of disunion Seward said: "What is all this for? What intolerable wrong, what unfraternal injustice, have rendered these calamities unavoidable? What

gain will this unnatural revolution bring to us? The answer will be: all this is done to secure the institution of African slavery. When that answer shall be given it will appear that the question of dissolving the Union is a complex question; that it embraces the fearful issue, whether the Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, peaceful action of moral, social and political causes, be removed by gradual, voluntary effort, and with compensation, or whether the Union shall be dissolved, and *civil war ensue, bringing violent but complete and immediate emancipation.* We are now arrived at that stage of our national progress when that crisis can be foreseen—when we must foresee it."

In 1859-1860 Seward visited Europe. The Republican party was expected to nominate him for the presidency. He was most feared of any man in the north by the slaveholders of the south. One southerner offered to be one of a hundred to pay five hundred dollars each for the head of William H. Seward. A prominent southern journal wrote of him as follows:

The great arch agitator, William H. Seward, has just returned to this country after an eight months' tour in Europe and Asia. From the time he landed in New York until he reached his home in Auburn, he was feasted, toasted and caressed with an adulation surpassing anything which has occurred for years. His homeward course was the triumphal march of a victorious general. At New York, Albany, Utica, Rome, Syracuse and Auburn, he was met by tens and hundreds of thousands. Bells were rung, buildings were decorated, salutes were fired, speeches were made, and an ovation of which a monarch would have felt proud was given to the distinguished Black Republican Senator. Why all this enthusiasm? Why all this immense outpouring of the North to do honor to a great Abolition agitator? We answer because the political sentiments of Mr. Seward harmonize with that of the great mass of northern sentiment. Mr. Seward is a great political leader. Unlike others who are willing to follow in the wake of popular sentiment Seward leads. He stands a head and shoulders above them all. He marshals his forces and directs the way. The Abolition host follow. However we

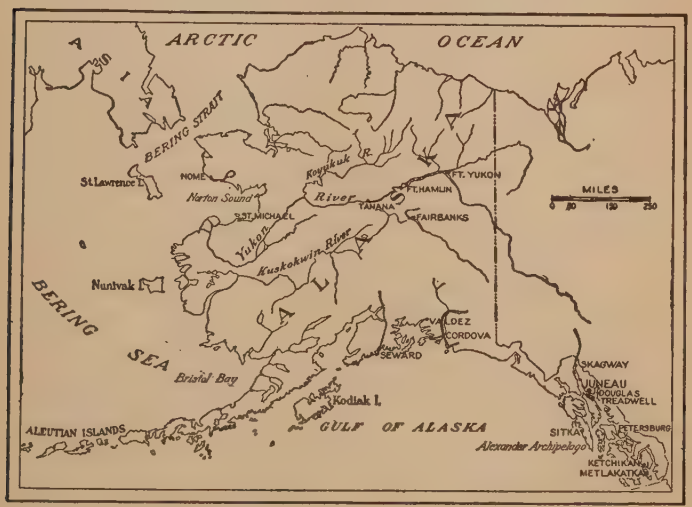
may differ from William H. Seward, we concede to him honesty of purpose and the highest order of talent. He takes no halfway grounds. He does nothing by halves. Bold, fearless, talented, and possessed of all the requirements of a great political leader, turning neither to the right nor to the left, gifted with a self-possession possessed by few men, he listens to the assaults of his enemies, with the most perfect *nonchalance,* and receives the warm greetings of his friends with a wonderful composure. He is at once the greatest and the most dangerous man in the government. The biographer of John Quincy Adams, and the follower in his footsteps, he caught the falling mantle of the great defender of Abolition petitions, none other being more worthy. For eighteen years he has stood forth in the Senate, the great champion of freedom, and the stern opposer of slavery. He has fought us at every step, disputed every inch of ground.

The purpose of this article was doubtless to arouse the most bitter feeling against Seward on the part of the South, and to prepare the way for secession in case the Republicans elected their president, it being taken for granted that Seward would be their candidate.

The friends of Seward were greatly disappointed that Lincoln secured the Republican nomination for the presidency. Seward supported him most earnestly, making many effective speeches over a wide extent of country. When Lincoln formed his cabinet he made Seward Secretary of State, a position which the latter filled with great credit. It is not the purpose of this article to treat of Seward as Secretary of State except in regard to matters relating to the purchase of Alaska. In this connection it is of interest to note one statement made by Seward during the campaign that resulted in the election of Lincoln. In his speech at St. Paul he said: "Standing here and looking far off into the northeast, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports, towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent as the outposts of St. Petersburgh, and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean, they will yet become the outposts of

my own country—monuments of the civilization of the United States in the northwest.' "

The Russians had long ago been willing to give up Alaska provided it went into friendly hands. They did not wish Great Britain to have it. During the Crimean war, a secret proposal was made to President Pierce to cede Alaska to the United States but it was feared that this would lead to com-



plications with England. The matter came up again and more openly in 1859 but the slaveholding interests effectually squelched the ambitions of President Buchanan in this matter.

The Anglo-Saxon race has an insatiable greed for land and the people of the United States have not been free from it. It was this, in the main, that led to the most unjust war against Mexico and the robbery of Mexican territory. It was the same land hunger that led us to seek Cuba before the Civil War, and St. Thomas and St. Domingo after it. It was this characteristic that led the people to approve of the purchase of Alaska. The Anglo-Saxon never loses an opportunity to acquire additional territory and never will-

ingly gives up any. There are now some signs that the national hunger for more land has been satisfied, or at least is not so acute as formerly.

Russia wished to sell Alaska and offered it to us. Seward fairly jumped at the offer. The treaty was signed on the 30th of March, 1867, and ratified by the Senate only ten days later, with only two dissenting votes. There was some opposition in the House of Representatives when voting an appropriation to pay Russia, but Seward had read everything to be had bearing upon Alaska and its products and made an able defense of his action. The condemnations of the purchase of Alaska read very much like the protests against the purchase of Louisiana at an earlier date, except in that case there was no allusion to icebergs and polar bears.

When France and England were contemplating the recognition of the Confederacy and we were in great danger of becoming involved in a war with these powers, a Russian fleet appeared at San Francisco and another at New York where they remained for some months. What were the instructions given the Russian commanders by the government of Russia is not known, nor is it known what communications, if any, passed between the Russian government and the governments of France and England, but after the arrival of the Russian fleets the tone of the French and the British press was modified perceptibly. It was generally believed that Russia stood our staunch friend in a time of great need and this led the people of our country to be favorably disposed toward anything that Russia might wish.

The vote in the House of Representatives on the bill appropriating money for the purchase of Alaska was 113 in favor to 43 opposed. In the debate the proposition was denounced and ridiculed. Alaska was called "Seward's Folly," "Johnson's Polar Bear," "A barren, worthless, God-forsaken region." The products were said to be "icebergs and polar bears," "a few wretched fish," etc.

Mr. Washburne, a member of the House of Representatives, in opposing the appropriation, said:

"First, that at the time the treaty for Alaska was negotiated, not a soul in the whole United States asked for it.

"Second, that it was secretly negotiated, and in a manner to prevent the representatives of the people from being heard.

"Third, that by existing treaties we possess every right that is of any value to us without the responsibility and never-ending expense of governing a nation of savages.

"Fourth, that the country ceded is absolutely without value.

"Fifth, that it is the right and duty of the House to inquire into the treaty, and to vote or to not vote the money according to its best judgment."

General Butler, in sustaining Mr. Washburne, said: "If we are to pay this price as usury on the friendship of Russia, we are paying for it very dear indeed. If we must pay for her friendship, I desire to give her the seven million two hundred thousand dollars in cash and let her keep Alaska, because I think it may be a small sum to give for the friendship, if we could only get rid of the land, or rather the ice, which we are to get by paying for it."

Mr. Peters of Maine said the territory was "intrinsically worthless, the conclusive proof of which was found in the fact that Russia was willing to sell it."

It was but natural that such criticisms should have been made, as but little was known of Alaska and that little was not favorable. The country was first explored by Russian officers in 1741. Soon after, Russian traders and trappers entered the country. The first settlement was made at Three Saints on Kodiak Island in 1784. The trade and regulation of the Russian possessions in America were granted to the Russian-American Company in 1799, for a period of twenty years. This grant was twice renewed for similar periods.

Sitka was founded in 1804 and made the seat of government. In 1821 Russia attempted to exclude foreign navigators from Behring Sea. This caused a controversy between Russia on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other. The question was settled by treaties of 1824 and

1825. "Seward's Folly" has proved a most profitable investment. It is probable that its value is not yet fully known. More than a hundred million dollars' worth of salmon has been taken from Alaskan waters. Furs to the value of more than forty millions have been brought from our new territory. Great quantities of gold and silver have been mined. The richest copper mines in the world are to be found in Alaska. An immense amount of coal exists in the country, as well as vast deposits of iron. The value of the territory for naval purposes is very great and is likely to be greater in the future. The country has great quantities of lumber, mainly spruce. Alaska is coming to be a popular summer trip, and an attractive hunting field. The Yukon, the great river of Alaska, is twenty-three hundred miles long and sixty miles wide at its mouth. The population of the country is about seventy thousand, about one-half being white people. The government consists of a legislature made up of eight senators and sixteen representatives, and a governor appointed by the President. There are now about three hundred miles of railroad in the territory and eight hundred miles of wagon roads besides sled roads and trails. The exports amount to about $30,000,000 annually.

In preparing the preceding chapter the following authorities were consulted and acknowledgments are hereby rendered for assistance received:

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XVI

THE ERIE CANAL AND THE COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

When Sullivan's expedition passed through the beautiful Genesee Valley, representatives of six states saw the immense cleared fields of marvelously fertile soil with growing corn so tall that a man riding through it on horseback would be hidden from sight. This made a great impression on those who came from the rocky fields and sterile soil of New England. When western New York was thrown open for settlement, these men and those to whom they had told of the rich and attractive country so long occupied by the Indians who had established a semi-civilization in this garden-land of the state, flocked to this farmer's paradise. They found that the stories told had not been exaggerations. The cleared fields really existed. The soil was free from stones. Unheard-of crops of corn, wheat and other grains were raised. But after the settlers had supplied their own wants the remainder of the corn and wheat might as well have been sawdust so far as value was concerned. It cost $126 to carry a ton of freight from Buffalo to Albany, which was very much more than a ton of wheat was worth.

There was a demand for better means of transportation between western New York and the Hudson and, as the number of settlers increased, the demand for better roads grew in force. The state was urged to build a road from Buffalo to Albany. This was impracticable. A road could not be built in one section of the state, at the expense of the state, without rendering the same service to all settled sections, and the state was not yet rich enough to enter upon such an enterprise. Even now, with all its enormous wealth,

the Empire State is finding that building roads in all the counties is imposing a staggering burden. It was, however, possible for the state to construct a canal without such serious difficulty, as the physical geography of the country made it impossible to build canals in all sections. The building of canals was discussed early in our country, long before the settlement of western New York.

As early as 1724 Cadwallader Colden, then surveyor-general of the colony, saw New York's wonderful opportunity for establishing a system of inland waterways—an opportunity which he declared was not equaled in any other portion of the globe.

In 1776 Joseph Carver, an explorer who had traveled the country from New York to Green Bay, declared it was practicable to connect the northwest with the ocean by means of the Great Lakes and a canal through central New York. As early as 1777, Gouverneur Morris predicted that ultimately the Great Lakes would be connected with the Hudson River by a canal. Washington, before his election as president, accompanied by Governor George Clinton visited the headwaters of the Susquehanna and portions of the country through which the Erie Canal now passes. He favored the building of a canal, not wholly as a commercial enterprise but also to help bind the people of the young nation in a closer union. He saw clearly the opportunities that the physical geography of New York offered in the way of inland water transportation. These were dreams and visions.

At this time the people of the United States were very poor. The long Revolutionary struggle had exhausted their slender resources. Taxes were very hard to collect. It was almost impossible to borrow money. In 1784, Christopher Coles, an engineer of ability, made a survey of the Mohawk Valley and submitted to the legislature plans for connecting Lake Ontario with the Hudson River by canal. The resources of the state would not enable it to undertake such a work. Therefore, the legislature offered Coles and his associates all the profits of the scheme in perpetuity if they would build

the canal but they were unable to secure the necessary financial support.

Evidence of the general poverty and the bad financial condition of the country is found in the fact that the legislature voted Coles the pitiful sum of $125 to aid him to continue his survey. In 1791 Governor George Clinton persuaded the legislature to charter two companies. In 1792 one was organized to construct a canal to connect the Hudson River with Lake Champlain, but nothing came of this. Another company, known as the "Western Inland Navigation Company," was formed to connect the Hudson River with Lake Ontario. Six miles was constructed at a cost of nearly half a million dollars but the venture was not a commercial success. The state took some stock in the company and loaned it money, and in payment afterwards took additional stock. The six miles of canal constructed was in the vicinity of Little Falls. It would float sixteen-ton vessels.

Other attempts were made. One company was organized to build a canal to connect the Oswego River with Cayuga and Seneca lakes. This work was undertaken by William Weston, afterwards superintendent of canals. Stephen Van Rensselaer was one of the most earnest supporters of a canal system.

In spite of the fact that western New York was being rapidly settled and settlers were going into Ohio, the transportation rates continued to be prohibitive. It cost more for transportation for most of the products of the soil, as well as almost all kinds of merchandise, than they were worth. These facts were kept constantly before the people. At this time it took from two to five days to go from New York to Albany, one day to go from Albany to Schenectady, a week from Schenectady to Utica, and nine days from Utica to Oswego. Freight rates on the Hudson River were 40c. a hundred, on the Mohawk River 75c. a hundred. The total cost of freight from New York to Oswego was about $50 a ton, from Buffalo to Albany about $125 a ton.

In 1805 the legislature directed Simeon DeWitt, the

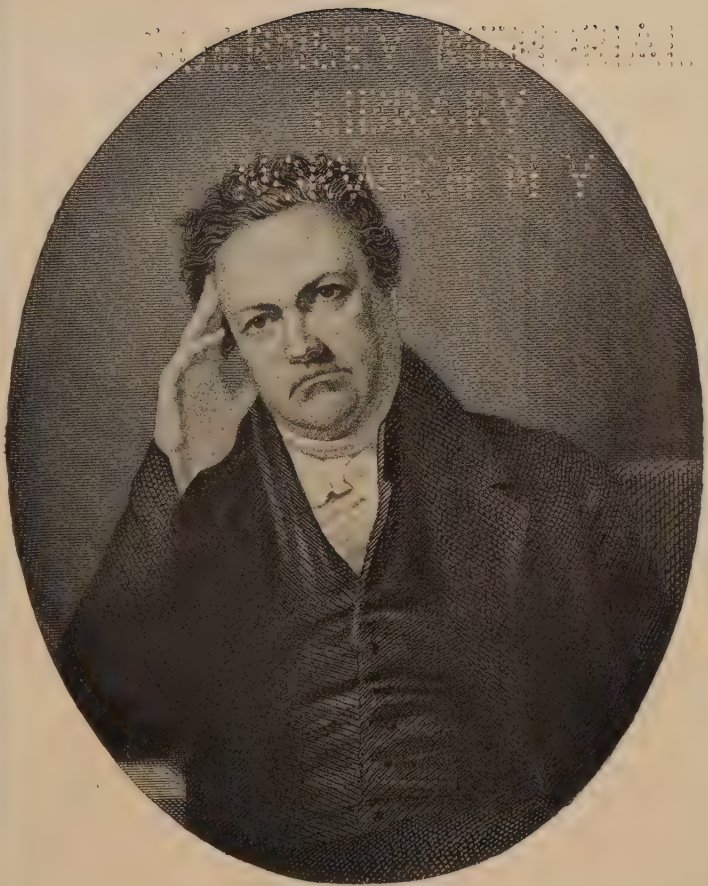
surveyor-general, to cause several routes to be accurately surveyed. He reported that it would be quite feasible to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson River and that a canal could be built without serious difficulty. The route recommended by DeWitt was that finally adopted. DeWitt was appointed surveyor-general in 1784 and held the office continuously for fifty years and was therefore familiar with the inception, construction, completion and operation of the canal.

The first canal commission was appointed in 1810 and consisted of Surveyor-General Simeon DeWitt, Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, William North, Thomas Eddy and Peter Porter. The next year Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston were added to the committee. The committee reported that the canal could be built for $5,000,000. It was hoped that the national government would aid in the work but that was prevented by the prospect of a war with Great Britain. The land-owners along the route, blind to their own interests, demanded large damages, though their property would be greatly enhanced in value through the building of a canal.

Discouragements multiplied. Other projects attracted attention. All the friends of the canal, except DeWitt Clinton, gave up in despair. He never lost faith or ceased his efforts. Even when overthrown politically, he kept on trying to arouse interest in his canal project and convince capitalists that the project was a promising one. In 1816 he wrote: "In all human probabilities, before the passing away of the present generation, Buffalo will be the second city of the state."

In 1815 a great meeting of the New York merchants was held and Clinton was appointed to prepare a memorial to present to the legislature. In this document he said:

> If the project of a canal was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of a party; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many; if



DeWitt Clinton

its benefits were limited to place, or fugitive as to duration, then indeed it might be received with cold indifference, or treated with stern neglect; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our own country, and as durable as time. It may be confidentially asserted that this canal, as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free state to create a new era in history and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race.

In June, 1812, the legislature authorized the Canal Commission to borrow money and accept grants of land preparatory to beginning the work of constructing the canal, but the War of 1812 made it impossible to borrow money, so the enterprise had to await the coming of peace.

In 1816 the legislature, through the influence of Governor Tompkins, authorized the building of the canal. A new commission was created with Clinton at its head. Further surveys were made and estimates of cost prepared. The plans submitted called for a canal forty feet wide at the surface, twenty-eight feet at the bottom, and four feet deep. The estimated cost was $4,442,813. On the 15th of April, 1817, the legislature authorized the construction of the canal and created a Canal Board consisting of all the executive officers of the state, except the Governor. This board was given power to borrow money on the credit of the state, and the canal fund was to be in their charge. The Clinton commission was responsible for construction, operation and maintenance. This double-headed management caused some difficulty and in 1826 a new board was created having the powers and duties of both of the old boards. The popularity of the canal is indicated by the vote for governor in 1817. Clinton, "the father of the canal," was chosen over his competitor, Peter B. Porter, by the extraordinary vote of 43,310 to 1,479. Clinton was inaugurated July 1, 1817. Three days later he broke ground for the canal at Rome.

This act was accompanied with great ceremony and jubilation. The section between Rome and Utica, fifteen miles in length, was completed by October, 1819.

In November, 1819, boats passed from the Hudson River to Lake Champlain. In 1820 the Erie Canal was completed to Seneca River. At this time it was expected that the canal would be completed in 1823, but there were unexpected delays. Clinton's political enemies made the most of the delay and the political contest that followed was bitter, virulent, and abusive in the extreme. Clinton was charged with almost all conceivable offenses from stealing to treason. However, he was reëlected by a very slender majority over Tompkins, his opponent. During the next term the feeling grew so bitter that Clinton did not dare seek a reëlection. In April, 1824, he was removed from the office of canal commissioner. This was very humiliating and was intended to be, but it reacted and scarcely six months later Clinton was again elected governor by a vote of 103,452 to 87,093.

On October 26, 1825, the first board began its trip through the canal with Governor Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Joshua Forman, Chancellor Livingston, William L. Stone and Thurlow Weed among the passengers. The boat was known as the *Seneca Chief*. Perhaps no event in the history of the state was ever so thoroughly celebrated. There were the ringing of bells, the booming of cannon, and other forms of glorification along the whole line of the canal. Clinton was the hero of the occasion. The *Seneca Chief* was escorted from Albany to New York by a fleet of steamers. New York was reached on the 4th of November. There were civic, military, and naval parades and the most extravagant demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. A memorial medal was struck by the municipal authorities. Two kegs of water had been brought from Lake Erie, one of which was taken to Sandy Hook and poured into the Atlantic Ocean. The contents of the other were bottled as mementos. An enthusiastic citizen had secured bottles of water from the Nile, the Ganges, the Indus, the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, the

Mississippi, the Columbus, the Orinoco, the LaPlata, all of which with proper ceremonies were emptied into the Atlantic after that of Lake Erie had been mingled with its brine, so symbolizing the faith of the projectors of the canal that it was to take its part in the commerce of the world. The celebration at New York closed on November 7th with a grand ball.

When the *Seneca Chief* left Buffalo the fact was announced by the firing of cannon along the route at short intervals. In this way the news was carried from Buffalo to Sandy Hook in the marvelously short time of eighty-one minutes. This was less than a hundred years ago. It staggers the imagination to attempt to comprehend the progress that has been made in the transportation of freight and the transmission of news since that time.

By 1825, 352 miles of the Erie and 81 miles of the Champlain canal had been completed. The entire cost up to 1837 amounted to about $10,000,000. The revenue up to this time was about $15,000,000. By 1862 the canal had been enlarged so as to be seventy feet wide at the surface, fifty-two feet at the bottom, and seven feet deep. It would float boats carrying 240 tons. The cost up to this time was $61,000,000. The receipts had been such that the canal at that date represented a net cost of about $7,000,000. In the first sixty years of their existence the canals of the state had carried 200,000,000 tons of freight. The present enlargement, to be completed in 1916, will provide a canal one hundred and twenty-two feet wide at the surface, twelve feet deep, and locks for boats one hundred and fifty feet long—more than trebling the present capacity.

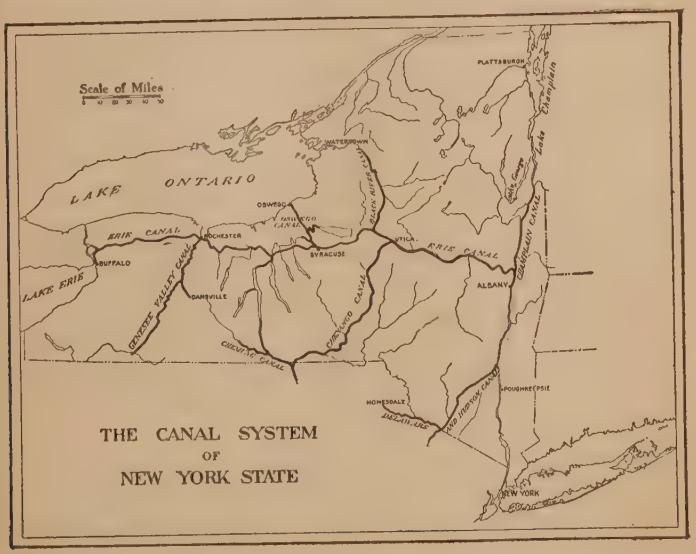
In 1790 New York ranked fifth in population among the states. In 1800 she had become the third, this increase being due chiefly to the settlement of western New York. When the Revolution closed there was not a white settlement west of Utica. Whitestown was settled in 1784. By 1791 5,000,000 acres of land had been sold to settlers, some of it as low as six cents an acre.

It is claimed that the construction of the Erie Canal raised the value of the land along its route fully $100,000,000 —more than twelve times the amount of its cost. While the construction of the canal made New York, it did hardly less for Ohio and some other parts of the West. In fact, it made what is now known as the Middle West. That country came to be what it was because of what New York did.

Previous to the construction of the Erie Canal, New York City was exceeded in wealth, population and business, by Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and one or two other cities. With the completion of this canal New York grew by leaps and bounds. It became the commercial metropolis of the western world. It was the gateway to the West and the outlet of all that vast section. Boston was wholly out of the race and never again became a factor in the western traffic till the coming of the railway and the construction of the Hoosic Tunnel; but Philadelphia and Baltimore did not purpose to give up the struggle. The latter city planned a canal connection between the Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River, following the route of the present Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Philadelphia planned a canal from the Susquehanna River to the Ohio. The mountainous country made this a difficult work and it is not probable that any Pennsylvania canal could have competed successfully with the Erie. While this struggle was going on, New York was extending her canal system.

The following were the principal canals of the state: the Erie connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson at Albany; the Champlain connecting Lake Champlain at Whitehall with the Erie Canal near Cohoes; the Chenango Canal extending through the Chenango Valley from Utica to Binghamton to reach the Pennsylvania coal fields; the Delaware and Hudson Canal connecting the Hudson River at Kingston with the Delaware River at Port Jervis and from there tapping the coal fields in northern Pennsylvania; the Oswego Canal connecting Lake Ontario at Oswego with the Erie Canal at Syracuse; the Black River Canal from Carthage in Jefferson

County to the Erie Canal at Rome; the Genesee Canal extending up the valley from Rochester to the Allegheny River at Olean and thence to connect with the Ohio Valley; the Cayuga and Seneca Canal to connect those lakes with the Erie Canal at Montezuma; the Chemung Canal extending from Havana on Seneca Lake to Elmira; the Crooked Lake Canal



from Dresden on Seneca Lake, to Penn Yan, and into Crooked Lake. Besides these there were various branches and feeders.

What the outcome of this struggle might have been and how extensive the system of canals might have become no one can tell further than to say that the physical geography of the country would have assured the success of New York.

The introduction of the railway checked the building of canals and finally led to the abandonment of many of them. What the outcome of the present attempt to restore the influence of canals through the construction of larger ones may be cannot be positively foretold but whether the traffic of the country be through canals or railroads, or both, the

supremacy of New York is assured. It is exceedingly interesting to note what canals and railroads have done for New York commercially and why. This is merely a study of commercial geography. The easy grade across central New York and the dead level from New York to Troy or Albany, settle the matter of traffic forever so far as can be foreseen. If electricity becomes the motive power, the great water power furnished by Niagara, the St. Lawrence River and the numerous streams of the Adirondacks and the multitude of smaller streams must still leave New York without a serious rival. A loaded train of eighty cars can leave New York for Buffalo and, with the exception of the Schenectady hill where a pusher is necessary, one engine and one set of train hands are sufficient, but on the other routes there are places where the train would have to be broken and three or four engines, engineers and sets of train hands would be necessary, thus adding greatly to the cost. As a result of this, you will find on the Central road between Buffalo and New York five or six great manufacturing cities; on other routes only one or two; in some cases not one. On the Central you will find a smart manufacturing village every few miles; on the other lines such villages are far apart. This condition stimulates manufacturing in New York State, creates commerce and reacts favorably on every form of useful industry, making New York truly the Empire State.

In preparing the preceding chapter the following authorities were consulted and acknowledgments are hereby rendered for assistance received:

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XVII

ANDREW SLOAN DRAPER AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Andrew S. Draper was by no means the sole creator of the public school system of our state, but his is easily the greatest name in our educational history. It was under his administration that our school system was thoroughly unified and the way opened for an unprecedented advance. It was during his administration that provision was made for the supervision of rural schools; that the way was opened for vocational training and a long step taken toward making collegiate instruction free for every child in the state that desired it. This last act was accomplished with the tact and fairness characteristic of Commissioner Draper. Instead of establishing a state university and thereby antagonizing the many colleges already existing in our state, provision was made for the establishment of three thousand free scholarships and allowing the winners of the same to attend any college in the state and have their tuition paid by the state. The educational work of Mr. Draper will be discussed more fully hereafter.

The educational history of the state of New York naturally divides itself into several periods: the Dutch period from the settlement of New Netherland to 1664; the English period from 1664 to the beginning of the Revolution; the period of the Revolution; and that from the close of the Revolution to the present.

New York and New England

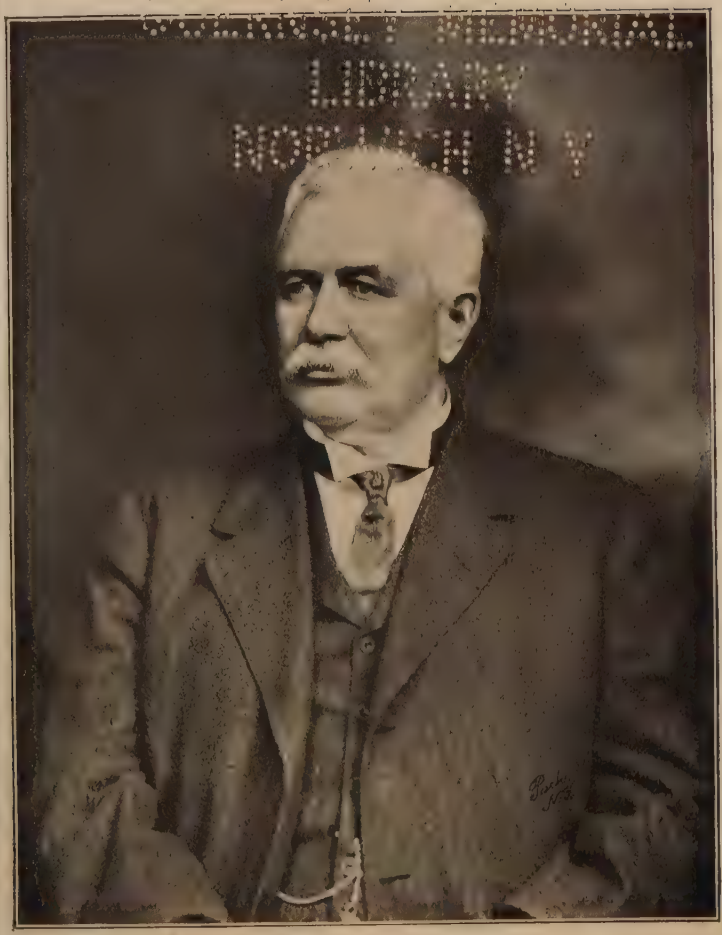
It is common to draw comparisons between New York and New England, especially with Massachusetts. This is not

unnatural but it is exceedingly difficult to do it and be fair to both sections. Conditions were so unlike in the different colonies. The population of Massachusetts was homogeneous; that of New York cosmopolitan. When New Amsterdam had only a thousand inhabitants sixteen languages and dialects were spoken there. Massachusetts largely cut herself off from the rest of the world to try an experiment in self-government. The Dutch of New Netherland followed the laws and customs of the fatherland. The people of Massachusetts came to this country that they might enjoy civil and religious liberty. The Dutch had both at home and came here for the purpose of trade. The early settlers of Massachusetts were largely men of education, many of them being graduates of Cambridge University. The Dutch were men of moderate education. They came from a country where education was highly prized by the masses and where everyone might, and most of them did, acquire a fair elementary education. The settlers of Massachusetts came from a country where education was for the few, not for the many. The people of each colony, therefore, brought to a greater or less degree the ideals of the country from which they came. It may fairly be said that the Dutch ideal was for universal education and that the people who ruled Massachusetts were at the outset chiefly concerned in educating people for the professions, more especially for the ministry.

Education Under the Dutch

It is easier to ascertain the facts regarding public education in the early history of Massachusetts than in New York. There were many educated men in Massachusetts who kept voluminous diaries. The proceedings of the town meetings, the church records and the acts of the legislature in Massachusetts were all recorded in the English tongue and might be known to anyone, and were known to many.

The government of New Netherland was largely in the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Andrew Sloan Draper

hands of the officials of the West India Company and when acts were recorded, which was not always the case, the records were in Dutch. The government of the colony was to some extent in the hands of the States-General but in part in the Classis of Amsterdam and, in the latter case, the records were not only in Dutch but for the most part were kept only in Holland. It is therefore so difficult to ascertain the exact facts in many matters that certain questions are, and are likely to be, matters of controversy. The general condition is pretty well known but there is doubt as to details—for instance, the date of the first Dutch school. What was the general situation in regard to public education in New Netherland? On June 7, 1629, the West India Company adopted and promulgated a charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions for the patroons, masters or private persons, who shall plant any colony in, or send cattle to, New Netherland." This charter stated that "The patroons and colonists shall in particular endeavor as quickly as possible to find some means whereby they may support a minister and a schoolmaster." At this time there were only about five hundred inhabitants in all New Netherland. The frequent allusions in the Dutch records to the education of the young give ample proof of the interest of the Dutch in that matter.

The Dutch were a religious people and fond of learning. Their intense devotion to their religion was the chief cause of their long and bitter struggle with Spain. Their school system was closely connected with their church. Ministers, deacons, elders and schoolmasters were all regarded as officials of the church. The curriculum of the church provided for participation in religious services. Music and the catechism were taught in all the schools. The schoolmaster was usually precentor and sexton and often held other offices, and sometimes engaged in other business to eke out his income. The teacher was paid partly by the West India Company, partly by the local authorities, and partly by tuition paid by the parents. Children of the poor were instructed free.

It is generally agreed that Adam Roelantsen was the first

schoolmaster of New Amsterdam but there is a difference of opinion as to the date of the first school. It is quite commonly claimed that it was in 1633, but some who have carefully studied the question claim it was not till 1639. It seems to be pretty well established that the latter is the date of the first school taught by a licensed teacher, but it is at least possible, perhaps probable, that children were taught by an unlicensed teacher as early as 1633. However, the exact date is not a matter of great general interest. We are more concerned with the attitude of the Dutch of New Netherland toward schools for the people.

During the Dutch régime there seems to have been five regularly licensed teachers in New Amsterdam. Besides these, there were some temporary teachers. There were some purely private schools. A Latin school was established in New Amsterdam probably as early as 1652. A second one was established in 1659. From 1648 to 1662 schools were established in the villages of Albany, Brooklyn, Flatbush, Flatlands, Harlem, Kingston, Bergen, Bushwick, and New Utrecht.

The schools were regarded as village or city and not Company schools. School hours were usually from eight to eleven in the forenoon, and from one to four in the afternoon. Schools were probably in session throughout the year with holidays on "festivals" and Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Evening schools were common. The Dutch do not seem to have discriminated against the girls in educational matters as did the English. The master's residence was usually the schoolhouse.

Under English Rule

There was comparatively little of general interest in education under English rule. The royal governors were not generally in favor of the education of the masses. This was natural. They represented the feeling of the English government at home at that time. When the colony was

governed by the English, schoolmasters were obliged to have a license. The object of this was to prevent any dissenter from filling that office. Up to 1686 the governor was the only person who had authority to license a teacher. After that date, persons who came from England were licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The rule requiring a teacher to have a license was never rigidly enforced and was never exacted of teachers in the Dutch schools except by Lord Cornbury, who insisted that neither the teachers nor the ministers of the Dutch had any right to teach or preach without a license from him and he refused to license anyone to teach in the Dutch schools. Therefore, for a time the Dutch were without a school. Lord Cornbury's rule came to an end in 1708 and no other English governor followed his policy. The rule requiring a license to teach does not seem to have been followed at all after 1712. The one bright spot in the educational history of the colony under the administration of the English was the establishment of King's College. Governor DeLancey wrote to the home government asking for a charter for the school, saying that such an institution was necessary "to prevent the growth of republican principles which already too much prevail in the colonies." Apparently the governor did not reason well as among the early students of the institution were Philip Livingston, John Jay, Robert Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton, DeWitt Clinton and Daniel Tompkins. It is rather interesting to note that no women were employed as teachers by the Dutch and very few by the English.

During the Revolution and After

During the Revolution, schools in New York almost ceased to exist. No other colony suffered so severely or so long from the ravages of war as did New York. The early schools were few in number and necessarily of the crudest kind. The teachers were untrained, the buildings were unfit for

school purposes, the equipment was meager and poor. It is interesting and inspiring to follow the growth of interest in matters of education, and the hard struggle the people made to develop a satisfactory educational system. For many years, the teacher "boarded around." Often he was regarded as a kind of necessary pauper. After a brief general discussion of the growth of our educational system, the matter can probably be presented more clearly by discussing a number of topics separately, such as the training of teachers, higher education, free schools, etc.

The Board of Regents was incorporated in 1784 and given charge of existing educational institutions. In 1789 the legislature set aside two lots of public land in each town for gospel and school purposes. Schools in nearly half the counties of the state now derive a small revenue from the fund so created. The legislature appointed a committee to consider the recommendations of the governor. A month later a bill was introduced entitled "An act for the encouragement of schools." This bill, which became a law, appropriated annually for five years $50,000 for the support of schools. The money was apportioned among the counties in proportion to their representation in the legislature. Each county divided its portion among the towns according to the number of taxable inhabitants, and the towns divided their money among the school districts according to the number of days' attendance by pupils resident in the district. The counties raised half as much as they received from the state. The electors of the various districts chose commissioners and trustees. At the end of three years, 1352 school districts had been organized and had a registration of 59,660 pupils.

This rather crude attempt was the beginning of our common school system. As much was accomplished as could have been expected at that time, under existing conditions. The people of the state were very poor and had a hard struggle to obtain a mere living. The resources of the state were undeveloped. Its future was uncertain.

While there have been some hard struggles and many

vexatious delays, nevertheless New York has steadily kept her face to the front in educational matters and has built up an educational system that may be faulty in some respects but on the whole is second to that of no other state.

The experimental appropriation of $50,000 a year for five years came to an end with the century. Then began a struggle for a permanent common school system. The most prominent and active man in this campaign was Jedediah Peck, a member of the legislature from Otsego County. He served in the legislature for a long period. He was not a liberally educated man, but he was earnest, patriotic, and persistent. The first action of the legislature in regard to common schools seems very peculiar in these days. It established what were known as Literature Lotteries by means of which $100,000 was to be raised each year, $12,500 of it going to the Board of Regents for academic schools, and the rest for the support of common schools. This plan was continued till 1821. The money realized from lotteries was turned over to the controller who was directed to invest it in real estate.

In 1805 the legislature voted to appropriate the proceeds from the sale of 500,000 acres of state lands for school purposes. This was the foundation of our present common school fund.

Growth of the Free School System of the State of New York

1782.—In 1782 Governor George Clinton, in a speech to the Senate and Assembly, said: "In the present respite from the more severe distresses and calamities of war, I cannot forbear suggesting to you a work which I conceive ought not to be deferred as the business of peace, the promotion and encouragement of learning. Besides the general advantages arising to society from liberal science, as restraining those rude passions which lead to vice and disorder, it is the peculiar duty of the government of a free state, where

the highest employments are open to citizens of every rank, to endeavor by the establishment of schools and seminaries to diffuse that degree of literature which is necessary to the due discharge of public trusts. You must be sensible that the war has occasioned a chasm in education, extremely injurious to the rising generation; and this affords an additional consideration for extending our earliest care to their instruction."

This was the first executive suggestion in this state in regard to public education.

1795.—Later, in 1795, Governor Clinton said: "While it is evident that the general establishment and liberal endowment of academies are highly to be commended, and are attended with most beneficial consequences, yet it cannot be denied that they are principally confined to the children of the opulent, and that a great proportion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantages; the establishment of common schools throughout the state is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience, and will therefore reëngage your early and decided consideration." As the result of this recommendation by Governor Clinton £20,000 a year for a period of five years was voted for the support of common schools.

1800.—In 1800 Governor John Jay, in a message to the legislature, said: "Among other objects that will present themselves to you, there is one which I earnestly recommend to your notice and patronage. I mean our institutions for the education of the youth. The importance of common schools is best estimated by the good effects of them where they most abound, and are best regulated. The two colleges in this state have, from their extensive and increasing utility, strong claims to the care of the legislature, and it appears to me that they should be enabled uniformly to answer the valuable purposes for which they were established."

The legislature voted Union College $10,000 and certain unappropriated public lands. The Assembly voted to continue the grant of 1795 for the support of common schools

but this was rejected by the Senate, and common schools in the state of New York were temporarily discontinued. The system was not revived and permanently established till 1812.

1802.—This year Governor George Clinton, in his message to the legislature, said: "The system for the encouragement of common schools having been discontinued, and the advantages to morals, religion, liberty, and good government arising from the general diffusion of knowledge being universally admitted, permit me to recommend this subject to your deliberate attention. The failure of one experiment for the attainment of an important object ought not to discourage other attempts."

1803.—In this year Governor Clinton again returned to the subject of education and said: "The establishment of common schools has at different times engaged the attention of the legislature, but although its importance is generally conceded, a diversity of sentiment respecting the best means has hitherto prevented the accomplishment of the object. The diffusion of knowledge is so essential to the promotion of virtue and the preservation of liberty as to render argument unnecessary to excite you to a perseverance in this laudable pursuit. Permit me only to observe that education, by correcting the morals and improving the manners, tends to prevent those evils in society which are beyond the sphere of legislation."

1804.—This year Governor Morgan Lewis, in addressing the legislature, said: "I cannot conclude, gentlemen, without calling your attention to a subject which my worthy and highly esteemed predecessor in office had so much at heart, and frequently, I believe, presented to your view, the encouragement of literature. In a government resting on public opinion, and deriving its chief support from the affections of a people, religion and morality cannot be too sedulously cultivated. To them, science is an handmaid; ignorance the worst of enemies. Literary information should then be placed within the reach of every description of citizens, and poverty should not be permitted to obstruct the path to the fane of knowledge.

Common schools under the guidance of respectable teachers should be established in every village, and the indigent educated at public expense. The higher seminaries should also receive every patronage and support within the means of enlightened legislators. Learning would thus flourish and vice be more effectually restrained than by volumes of penal statutes."

In April 9, 1811, Jedediah Peck, John Murray, Jr., Samuel Russell, Roger Skinner and Robert Macomb were appointed commissioners to report a system for the organization and establishment of common schools. On the 17th of February, 1812, they reported as follows:

Perhaps there will never be reported to the legislature a subject of more importance than the establishment of common schools. Education as the means of improving the moral and intellectual faculties is, under all circumstances, a subject of the most imposing consideration. To rescue man from that state of degradation to which he is doomed, unless redeemed by education; to unfold his physical, intellectual, and moral powers; and to fit him for those high destinies which his Creator has prepared for him, cannot fail to excite the most ardent sensibility of the philosopher and the philanthropist. A comparison of the savage that roams through the forest with the enlightened inhabitant of a civilized country would be a brief, but impressive representation of the momentous importance of education.

It were an easy task for the commissioners to show that in proportion as every country has been enlightened by education, so has been its prosperity. Where the heads and hearts of men are generally cultivated and improved virtue and wisdom must reign, and vice and ignorance must cease to prevail. Virtue and wisdom are the parents of private and public felicity; vice and ignorance of private and public misery.

If education be the cause of the advancement of other nations, it must be apparent to the most superficial observer of our peculiar political constitution that it is essential, not to our prosperity only, but to the very existence of our government. Whatever may be the effect of education on a despotic or monarchial government, it is not absolutely indispensable to the existence of either. In a despotic government the people have no agency whatever, either in the forma-

tion or in the execution of laws. They are the mere slaves of arbitrary authority, holding their lives and property at the pleasure of uncontrolled caprice. As the will of the ruler is the supreme law, fear, slavish fear, on the part of the governed, is the principle of despotism. It will be perceived readily, that ignorance on the part of the people can present no barrier to the administration of such a government; and much less can it endanger its existence. In a monarchial government the operation of fixed laws is intended to supersede the necessity of intelligence in the people. But in a government like ours where the people is the sovereign power, where the will of the people is the law of the land, which will is openly and directly expressed; and where every act of the government may justly be called the act of the people, it is absolutely essential that the people be enlightened. They must possess both intelligence and virtue; intelligence to perceive what is right, and virtue to do what is right. Our republic, therefore, may be justly said to be founded on the intelligence and virtue of the people. For this reason it is with much propriety that the enlightened Montesquieu has said, "In a republic the whole force of education is required."

The commissioners think it unnecessary to represent in a stronger point of view the importance and absolute necessity of education as connected either with the cause of religion and morality, or with the prosperity and existence of our political institutions. As the people must receive the advantages of education the inquiry naturally arises how this end is to be obtained. The expedient devised by the legislature is the establishment of common schools, which, being spread throughout the state, and aided by its bounty, will bring improvement within the reach and power of the humblest citizen. This appears to be the best plan that can be devised to disseminate religion, morality, and learning throughout a whole country. All other methods, heretofore adopted, are partial in their operation and circumscribed in their effects. Academies and universities, as understood in contradistinction to common schools, cannot be considered as operating impartially and indiscriminately as regards the country at large. The advantages of the first are confined to the particular districts in which they are established; and the second from causes apparent to everyone, are devoted almost exclusively to the rich. In a free government where political equality is established and where the road to preferment is open to all, there is a natural stimulus to education; and accordingly we find it generally resorted to, unless some great

local impediment interfere. In populous cities, and in the parts of the country thickly settled, schools are generally established by individual exertion. In these cases the means of education are facilitated as the expenses of the school are divided among a great many. It is in the remote and thinly populated parts of the state where the inhabitants are scattered over a large extent that education stands greatly in need of encouragement. The people here living far from each other make it so difficult to establish schools as to render them convenient and accessible to all. Every family, therefore, must either educate its own children, or the children must forego the advantages of education.

These inconveniences can be remedied best by the establishment of common schools under the direction and patronage of the state. In these schools should be taught at least those branches of education which are indispensably necessary to every person in his connection with the world, and to the performance of his duty as a useful citizen. Reading, writing, arithmetic and the principles of morality are essential to every person, however humble his situation in life. Without the first, it is impossible to receive those lessons of morality which are inculcated in the writings of the learned and pious; nor is it possible to become acquainted with our political constitutions and laws; nor to decide those great political questions which ultimately are referred to the intelligence of the people. Writing and arithmetic are indispensable in the management of one's private affairs, and to facilitate one's commerce with the world. Morality and religion are the foundation of all that is truly great and good, and are consequently of primary importance. A person provided with these acquisitions is enabled to pass through the world respectably and successfully. If, however, it be his intention to become acquainted with the higher branches of science the academies and the universities established in the different parts of the state are open to him. In this manner, education in all its stages is offered to the citizens generally.

In devising a plan for the organization and establishment of common schools the commissioners have proceeded with great care and deliberation. To frame a system which must directly affect every citizen of the state, and so regulate it that it shall obviate individual and local discontent and yet be generally beneficial is a task at once perplexing and arduous. To avoid the imputation of local partiality, and to devise a plan operating with equal mildness and advantage

has been the object of the commissioners. To effect this end they have consulted the experience of others and resorted to every probable source of intelligence. From neighboring states where common school systems are established by law, they have derived much important information. This information is doubly valuable as it is the result of long and actual experience. The commissioners by closely examining the rise and progress of those systems have been able to obviate many imperfections otherwise inseparable from the novelty of the establishment, and to discover the means by which they have gradually risen to their present condition.

The outlines of the plan suggested by the commissioners are briefly these. That the several towns in the state be divided into school districts by three commissioners elected by the citizens qualified to vote for town officers; that trustees be elected in each district to whom shall be confided the care and superintendence of the school to be established therein; that the interest of the school fund be divided among the different counties and towns according to their respective population as ascertained by the successive census of the United States; that the portion received by the respective towns be subdivided among the districts into which such town shall be divided according to the number of children in each between the ages of five and fifteen years inclusive; that each town raise by tax annually as much money as it shall have received from the school fund; that the gross amount of moneys received from the state and raised by the towns be appropriated exclusively to the payment of the wages of teachers; that the whole system shall be placed under the superintendence of an officer appointed by the Council of Appointment.

The recommendations of the commissioners in regard to the establishment of a system of common schools were enacted into law with no very material changes, June 19, 1812. In 1894 a constitutional provision made it the duty of the legislature to maintain common schools.

In this connection some idea of the kind of man that fought successfully the battle for common schools should be given. Jedediah Peck, the father of the common school system of the state of New York, was a man of limited education and had no gift as a debater or skill as a speaker, but he was a man of the strictest integrity, possessed high ideals

and sound judgment, and was a skillful organizer. Mr. Peck was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on the 28th of January, 1748. He served four years in the Revolutionary army. In 1790 he settled in the town of Burlington, Otsego County. Although nearly seventy years of age at the time, he served in the War of 1812 and took part in the Battle of Queenstown. He was a member of the state legislature for eleven years, seven in the Assembly and four in the Senate. In addition to his work in establishing the common school system of the state, he introduced a bill for the abolition of imprisonment for debt which later became a law.

The law creating the common school system of the state also created the office of Superintendent of Common Schools. This was noteworthy as being the first state supervisory school office created in America. The Council of Appointment chose Gideon Hawley to fill this office. He was appointed January 14, 1813, and served till February 22, 1821.

Mr. Hawley was born at Huntington, Connecticut, on the 26th of September, 1785. He came to Saratoga County when only nine years of age. He graduated from Union College, studied law and began practice in the city of Albany. He was only twenty-eight years of age when chosen state superintendent. During the eight years of his service, the number of pupils attending the common schools increased from 140,000 to 304,000. Notwithstanding his eminent success in administrating his office, and the smallness of his salary, only $300 a year, he was removed for purely political reasons. The general indignation caused by his removal led to his successor being legislated out of office. The secretary of state was made ex-officio superintendent of common schools. This was in 1821 and John Van Ness Yates was then secretary of state.

Mr. Hawley was elected secretary of the Board of Regents in 1814 and served in that capacity till 1841. He was elected a regent in 1840 and served till his death in 1879. When superintendent of common schools Mr. Hawley did much toward introducing the Lancasterian system of schools—at

one time very popular, but now almost forgotten. Gideon Hawley was one of the most useful men in our educational history and rendered services of great value.

In 1815 the state first contributed toward the payment of teachers' salaries, the amount being $46,398. The amount paid in 1912 for this purpose was $5,035,828.84.

In 1826 Azariah C. Flagg, then secretary of state, vigorously opposed a proposition to designate a particular series of textbooks to the exclusion of all others. From that time to the present the textbook question has been a disturbing factor in educational affairs, but it may well be remembered that the school textbooks in the United States are the best in the world.

In 1836 Congress passed an act authorizing the deposit of the surplus in the United States Treasury with the various states. New York's portion was about $4,000,000. On the recommendation of Governor Marcy, the legislature provided that $160,000 of the income of this fund be added to the common school fund each year.

In 1849 the legislature passed an act creating free schools with a provision that the matter be submitted to a vote of the people. It was approved by a great majority, 249,872 in favor of the bill to 91,951 against it. Chenango, Otsego and Tompkins were the only counties that gave a majority against free schools.

This so-called free school law did not after all provide free schools. The district imposed a tax for providing a schoolhouse, fuel, etc., and for the education of indigent children; the state apportioned about twenty dollars annually to each district toward the payment of the teacher's wages; the remaining sum for the payment of the teacher was raised by means of what was known as a rate bill, the amount being assessed upon the parents who patronized the school in proportion to the number of days' attendance of their children.

In 1853 the Court of Appeals declared the free school law of 1849 to be unconstitutional, but this was not a matter

of much practical importance as a free school act had been passed in 1851 to which the decision of the Court of Appeals did not apply. In 1867 the rate bill was abolished. It had been a great hindrance to progress as children were frequently kept from school to save the expense of attendance. This matter of really free schools was a source of bitter controversy in the legislature for half a century. The idea of a rate bill probably came to us from Holland.

At the general election in 1850 an attempt was made to repeal the free school law and forty-two counties gave majorities in favor of the repeal, but in the state at large there was a majority of 25,038 votes against it. This was mainly due to the vote in the city of New York.

In 1880 an act was passed making women eligible for school offices and entitling them to the same privileges as men in regard to voting at school elections. A compulsory education law was enacted in 1874 and this has been strengthened and extended again and again till it is now very effective.

After a century of dual administration of the school affairs of the state, a single system was established in 1904. This was perhaps the greatest single step forward in the educational history of the state and made much progress easy that before was not possible.

The Regents of the University of the State of New York

On the first of May, 1784, the legislature of the state of New York at its first session after the close of the Revolution, in response to a strong appeal from Governor George Clinton in his annual message, passed an act creating the University of the State of New York. The act was entitled "An act for granting certain privileges to the college heretofore called King's College, for altering the charter and name thereof, and erecting an university within this state."

This university was to be controlled by a body known as "The Regents of the University of the State of New York."

This body was made up of twenty-four men of high character, named in the act, together with the principal state officers ex-officio. The clergy of the various denominations were empowered to select one of their own number to be a regent, and to keep his place filled. The first Board of Regents was organized by electing Governor George Clinton as chancellor, Pierre Van Cortlandt as vice-chancellor, and Robert Harpur as secretary. The fellows, professors and tutors of any college were empowered to act as regents in respect to their own colleges. At this time there was only one college in the state—Columbia. The Regents were empowered to establish such other colleges from time to time as they might think proper, such colleges to be considered as parts of the State University and to be under the control of the Regents. The board, as thus created, proved to be a cumbrous body on account of its size. A committee was appointed to study the situation and suggest reforms. The leading spirits of this committee were Alexander Hamilton and Ezra L'Hommedieu. This committee embodied its views in a bill which was passed by the legislature in 1787. It enacted that "An university be and hereby is instituted within the state to be called and known by the name or style of the Regents of the University of the State of New York." The number of regents was fixed at twenty-one, in addition to the governor and lieutenant-governor who were made ex-officio members. Later the secretary of state and the superintendent of public instruction were added. The elective members were chosen for life. They were elected by a joint ballot of the legislature and served without compensation. The Board was authorized to grant degrees, charters of incorporation to colleges and academies, and to grant collegiate charters to such academies as might grow to be worthy of the same. The act provided that each college and academy in the state should have its own board of trustees who should constitute a body corporate for the management of its individual affairs. The Regents were authorized to visit and inspect all colleges, academies and schools which are or may be established in the state;

to examine the same as to discipline and instruction and to make a yearly report to the legislature.

At the first meeting of the Board after reorganization, Governor Clinton was chosen chancellor and John Jay vice-chancellor. From the outset the members of the Board of Regents have been men of ability and high character. The first academy chartered by the Board of Regents was Erasmus Hall which received its charter November 17, 1787. By 1813 thirty academies had been incorporated. A regent must be a citizen of the state and not an officer of any college or academy under the visitation of the Regents.

In 1863 the Board established what was known as the Convocation of the University. The Regents and the officers of all the colleges, academies and normal schools were members of the Convocation which met annually at the Capitol in July. The business of the Convocation was the consideration of educational matters of general interest. The papers presented at the Convocation, together with the discussions and the annual report of the Regents with much other matter of general interest, were printed in an annual volume. In 1844 the Regents were made trustees of the State Library and given charge of the historical documents belonging to the state. In 1845 they were made trustees of the State Museum of Natural History. When the Albany Normal School was established it was placed under the joint management of the Board of Regents and the superintendent of public instruction.

In 1864 a law was enacted authorizing the board of education of any union free school to establish in the same an academic department whenever in their judgment there was sufficient demand for the same. This resulted in greatly reducing the number of academies. In 1865 there were 190 academies in the state; in 1884 only 75. There was a corresponding increase in the number of academic departments; 22 in 1865 and 185 in 1883.

In 1894 the Regents were made a constitutional body. When unification was adopted in 1904, the regents were no

longer elected for life. The number was reduced to twelve, one for each judicial district and they are elected by the legislature by joint ballot and serve for eleven years. The Board of Regents elects a Commissioner of Education who holds office during their pleasure. The unification law provided that the legislature should choose the first commissioner for a term of six years and after the expiration of that term the choice should be made by the Board of Regents. The legislature selected Andrew S. Draper who had previously served two terms as superintendent of public instruction. At the expiration of his term of service he was unanimously reappointed for life by the Board of Regents.

Space will not permit giving even an approximation of a complete history of education in the state of New York, not even of the more important features of it, but an attempt is made to give the general reader something of a bird's-eye view of it with something in the way of detail in regard to certain movements.

New York has taken few backward steps and has broadened and extended the field of its educational activities far beyond the wildest dreams of Jedediah Peck and his associates. Not only was the common school system established but high schools have been made free to every child in the state who is prepared to enter them, and the state has provided three thousand free scholarships in the colleges of the state. It has provided schools for the deaf and dumb, the blind, the feeble-minded, the Indians, and has either provided for or encouraged vocational schools, continuation schools, vacation schools, summer normal schools, open-air schools, school gardens, school savings banks, and medical inspection.

Supervision

The state of New York early recognized the importance of supervision in the work of education. The law of 1812 establishing the common school system provided for the

appointment of three commissioners for each town, afterward commonly known as town superintendents of schools. This office was continued until 1843.

The office of school commissioner was created in 1856 and abolished in 1911. The office of school commissioner was a very important one and produced excellent results when the right kind of a man was chosen, but unfortunately no educational qualifications were required and often the nomination of a man was regarded as a reward for political services rendered, or a salve for disappointment in failing to secure some other office. The territory to be superintended was so large in many cases, the duties were so onerous, the term of office so short, the reëlection so uncertain, that in general the results were not altogether satisfactory. The office was abolished in 1911 and the office of district superintendent was created. The powers and duties of the district superintendents are about the same as those of the school commissioners but they have a smaller territory to supervise. They are appointed for five years by a board created for that purpose, instead of being nominated on a party ticket and being voted for by all the voters of their territory. No one can be appointed who does not possess certain prescribed qualifications. So far, this system of rural supervision has worked better than even its friends had dared to hope. It seems as though the rural schools would have supervision that would compare very favorably with that in villages and small cities.

Village and city superintendents have existed for many years. The city of Buffalo has the honor of having had the first city superintendent of schools of any city in the United States. New York has long encouraged the appointment of local superintendents by appropriating a certain sum of money to each village of five thousand inhabitants or more that employed a superintendent of schools. In cities, a sum was appropriated equaling as many times the sum allowed to villages as the city had members of the state assembly.

Both the Board of Regents and the Department of Public Instruction appointed inspectors to visit the academic schools

of the state. Since unification there has, as a matter of course, been only one board of inspectors. This inspection has been productive of excellent results.

In 1813 Gideon Hawley was appointed state superintendent of common schools, New York being the first state to provide such supervision. In 1821 the office was discontinued and the secretary of state became ex-officio state superintendent. Many excellent men held this office but the time came when it was felt that the importance of the work demanded the whole time and thought of the best man who could be had for the office.

In 1854 the office of state superintendent of public instruction was created and Victor M. Rice was chosen to fill the position. It was an admirable choice and many excellent men followed him during the half century of the existence of that office. During this period marked progress was made in many directions. In course of time, rivalry arose because of the dual system of education that existed. The line of division between the Board of Regents and the Department of Public Instruction was not very clearly defined and perhaps could not be. Naturally, differences arose and now and then the feeling was exceedingly bitter. The abler the men at the head of the two departments, and the more anxious they were to make a record for their respective departments, the greater the probability of a clash. Several efforts were made to bring about some plan of unification but it was not until 1904 that this was accomplished.

The Training of Teachers

Institutes.—The institute appears to have been the first agency for the training of teachers that reached and influenced large numbers. It seems to have had its origin in a resolution offered at the Tompkins County Teachers' Association in 1843 by Superintendent Jacob S. Denman. The first institute, which continued for two weeks, was held

at Ithaca in April, 1843. It was under the direction of Superintendent Denman. The institute was purely a local affair. The state neither furnished aid nor directed the work. The greater part of the instruction was given by Salem Town, who later became very prominent in educational work. The institutes were very popular almost at the outset. They were held in seventeen different counties within two years from the time of holding the first institute at Ithaca. The work of the institute was chiefly a review of the branches required to be taught in the common schools, though there were lectures on methods and school management. The length of the sessions varied from two to eight weeks. The institutes were supported wholly by the teachers who attended. They were carried on for four years before the state had any part in them. In 1845 Secretary Young reported that the institutes were "highly deserving of legislative aid." In 1847 the institutes were placed under state control and sixty dollars was allowed to each county that organized a teachers' institute. In 1859 this amount was doubled. It was further increased from time to time until forty thousand dollars was spent annually by the state on teachers' institutes. In 1862 a law was enacted authorizing local authorities to pay teachers their regular salaries while they were in attendance upon an institute. In 1885 this was made compulsory as was the attendance of the teachers at an institute, it having been optional up to this time though very few of the teachers were absent.

Up to 1881 no instructors were regularly employed in institute work. A man who was employed at one institute might not appear at another during the year. Institute work was an incident of a man's life, not his regular employment. There was little opportunity for men to train themselves for this somewhat peculiar work. In 1881 a regular board of institute conductors was appointed. They gave their whole time to the work and thus made it more definite and more efficient. In 1896 city institutes were organized, and summer institutes continuing for three weeks were held in different

parts of the state. The city institutes were optional with the local authorities but they were held with more or less frequency in most of the cities of the state.

Institutes were discontinued in 1911, after an existence of sixty-eight years. Their place is now taken by conferences held by the district superintendents. This system has not yet been fully worked out and it is too early to say what the outcome will be.

New York was the first state in the Union to hold teachers' institutes and her example has been followed by nearly every other state in the Union.

Normal Schools.—As early as 1821 Governor DeWitt Clinton called attention to the importance of providing schools for the training of teachers. In 1826, in his message to the legislature, he said: "The vocation of a teacher in its influence on the character and destiny of the rising and all future generations has either not been fully understood or duly estimated. It is or ought to be ranked among the learned professions. With full admission of the merits of several who now officiate in that capacity, still it must be conceded that the information of many of the instructors of our common schools does not extend beyond rudimental education; that our expanding population requires constant accessions to their numbers; and that to realize these views it is necessary that some new plan for obtaining able teachers should be devised. I therefore recommend a seminary for the education of teachers. . . . Compliance with this recommendation will have the most benign influence on the individual happiness and social prosperity. To break down the barriers which poverty has erected against the acquisition and dispensation of knowledge is to restore the just equilibrium of society, and to perform a duty of indispensable and paramount obligation; and under this impression I also recommend that provision be made for the gratuitous education, in our superior seminaries, of indigent, talented and meritorious youths." In 1827 Governor Clinton again discussed the importance of providing for the training of teach-

ers and suggested that a school for that purpose be established in each county. In 1828 he said: "I consider it my duty to recommend a law authorizing the supervisors of each county to raise a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars, provided the same sum is subscribed by individuals, for the erection of a suitable edifice for a monitorial high school in the county town."

In 1826, Mr. Spencer, later superintendent of common schools but then Chairman of the Literature Committee of the Senate, said: "Competent teachers for the common schools must be provided; the academies of the state furnish the means of making that provision."

In 1830 the superintendent of common schools recommended the conversion of as many academies as there were then counties in the state into seminaries for the education of teachers. In 1833 Governor Marcy said: "One of the most obvious improvements in relation to common schools would be a plan for supplying them with competent teachers."

In 1834, in his message to the legislature, Governor Marcy said: "By providing an adequate fund for the support of common schools the legislature discharge but a part, and by far the least difficult part, of their duty toward educating the people. They must secure its efficient application to the proper objects. In this respect there is, in my judgment, a manifest defect in our system. Little as yet has been done to provide teachers properly trained for this pursuit. Without well qualified and skillful instructors, the amplest funds will prove comparatively useless."

In 1835 he said: "The special subjects in relation to common schools to which I am anxious your attention should be particularly directed, are a provision for supplying competent teachers."

In 1836 he said: "The difficulty of supplying the district schools with competent teachers has presented the greatest obstacle to the complete success of our system. A beginning has been made with a view to the removal of this obstacle. A separate department for the instruction of common school

teachers has been established in one of the principal academies in each of the eight senate districts of the state, and public funds have been appropriated toward the support of these departments."

In 1837 he recommended "that a liberal portion of this income (that from the United States Deposit Fund) should be appropriated to the academies in such a manner as will not only increase the amount annually distributed to them, but also improve the literature fund; having in view principally the design of rendering them more efficient as seminaries for educating common school teachers."

In his last message in 1837, Governor Marcy said:

Our common school system still labors under embarrassments arising from an inadequate supply of well qualified teachers. Our colleges and academies have heretofore been relied upon to supply, to a considerable extent, this deficiency; but it has been quite evident for some time that further provision ought to be made by legislative authority, to satisfy the public wants in this respect. The departments for educating common school teachers erected under the patronage of the state in eight of the academies have been in operation about two years, and the last reports from them present favorable results. The number of students attending them is steadily increasing; they are resorted to as sources for supplying the demand for teachers, and the services of those instructed in them are on that account considered more valuable and readily command a higher rate of compensation.

But no success that can attend those already established will make them competent to supply in any considerable degree the demand for teachers; it has, therefore, been proposed to increase the number of such departments in each senate district of the state by devoting to that purpose a portion of the income to be derived from the deposit of the public moneys. It is well worthy of your consideration, whether still better results might not be obtained by county normal schools established and maintained on principles analogous to those on which our system of common schools is founded. If the people were fully sensible how much the usefulness of our common schools would be increased by being generally furnished with competent instructors it is presumed they would cheerfully contribute the means

required to secure this advantage. Though there are conceded difficulties in the way of procuring an adequate supply of these instructors, yet the cause of education is so deeply interested in having it done to the utmost practical extent that you will doubtless regard it as an object every way deserving your consideration.

In 1839 Governor Marcy was succeeded by Governor William H. Seward. In his first message he said: "We seem at last to have ascertained the only practicable manner of introducing normal schools into our country. It is by engrafting that system upon our academies. I ardently hope you will adopt such further legislation as is required to make this effort successful."

Quotations almost without number might be made from the governors of the state and from the superintendents of common schools favoring the establishment of schools for the training of teachers. There was little opposition to the general proposition, but there was a wide difference as to the means to be adopted. As will be noticed from the preceding extracts, the prevailing thought was to make use of the existing academies. There was an appreciation of the fact that they could not provide teachers in sufficient numbers, but it did not seem to occur to those interested in the matter that the training departments in academies would be incidents in the work of the academy and never a matter of leading importance and that the strength of the schools would go in other directions. It is a question if the same objection does not hold against the present training classes. Supervision by the state will probably lessen the objection but the training classes in schools and academies will rarely be more than an incident in the work of the schools sustaining such classes. County normal schools or other schools that devote their whole energies to the training of teachers must inevitably give more satisfactory results.

The struggle for the establishment of one or more normal schools went on, not only in the legislature, but throughout the state. At a meeting of the State Teachers' Association

EDUCATION BUILDING, ALBANY

eminent speakers both from within and without the state advocated the idea. The outcome was the establishment of a state normal school in Albany in 1844.

The battle was won. A second school was established at Oswego in 1863, followed in 1866 by three others located at Cortland, Fredonia and Potsdam. The following year three more were established, located at Geneseo, Brockport and Buffalo. One was established at New Paltz in 1885, one at Oneonta in 1887 and at Plattsburg in 1890. The last to be established by the state was at Jamaica in 1897, but it is clear that others must be established in the near future if the needs of the service are to be met.

In 1890 the Albany Normal School was chartered by the Regents of the University of the State of New York as the Albany Normal College. It is now called State College for Teachers. It trains its students to become teachers in higher schools, principals of high schools, and for the work of school superintendence. The other normal schools of the state aim to prepare teachers for primary and grammar school work.

Training Schools and Classes.—The academies of the state were early used as training schools for the preparation of teachers for the common schools. In 1835 one seminary in each of the senate districts of the state, then eight in number, was appointed to instruct teachers. These schools were selected by the Regents who named Erasmus Hall of Kings County, Montgomery Academy of Orange County, Kinderhook Academy of Columbia County, St. Lawrence Academy of St. Lawrence County, Fairfield Academy of Herkimer County, Oxford Academy of Chenango County, Canandaigua Academy of Ontario County, and Middlebury Academy of Genesee County.

Each of these schools was given $500 for the purchase of books, apparatus, maps, charts and globes and $400 annually for the training of teachers. The number of training classes for teachers increased from time to time until the beginning of the administration of Superintendent Draper when there were 195 such classes with 2,676 students, all of these schools

being under the control and direction of the Board of Regents. As the graduates of these classes nearly all taught in the public schools, it was thought rather incongruous to have the training of these to-be teachers under the exclusive control of one body and their certification and direction under another, so in 1889 the control of the training classes was transferred to the superintendent of public instruction.

Governor DeWitt Clinton, in his message to the legislature in 1828, gave direction to public thought that seven years later led to the establishment of the first schools for the training of teachers. There are now 113 training classes that furnish about 1,200 teachers each year. In addition, the cities of Albany, Buffalo, Cohoes, Elmira, Jamestown, New York, Brooklyn, Jamaica, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Troy, Watertown and Yonkers maintain training schools and prepare about 800 teachers each year. The normal schools graduate about 1,100 students each year so that in all ways something over 3,000 new teachers, having some professional training, are added to the teaching force each year. It is at least probable that the time is not very far distant when all the teachers employed by the state will be professionally trained to some extent.

School Libraries

In 1827 Governor DeWitt Clinton suggested to the legislature the wisdom of having a small collection of books in each school library. Probably this was the first public utterance on that subject.

In 1833 John A. Dix, then superintendent of common schools, said: "If the inhabitants of school districts were authorized to levy a tax upon their property for the purpose of purchasing libraries for the use of the district, such a power might, with proper restrictions, become a most efficient instrument for the diffusion of useful knowledge, and in elevating the intellectual character of the people." The following year such a law was enacted.

In 1835 the foundation of the school district library was laid. A law was enacted authorizing the taxable inhabitants of the several school districts to impose a tax of not more than twenty dollars the first year, nor more than ten dollars in any subsequent year, for the purpose of establishing a district library.

In 1838 Governor Marcy suggested that a portion of the income from the United States Deposit Fund be used for the purchase of school district libraries in all cases in which the districts raised by taxation a sum equal to that contributed by the state. The legislature acted upon his suggestion and voted $55,000 a year for this purpose.

In 1839 Governor Seward advocated the extension of the district libraries. The same year, John A. Dix, the superintendent of common schools, said:

Common school libraries are in the strictest sense institutions for the benefit of the people. They are, like the common schools, among the most effectual means of correcting, so far as human regulations can correct them, those inequalities of condition which arise from superior advantages of fortune. The intellectual endowments of men are various, and it is therefore in the order of nature that individuals shall not enter on equal terms into competition with each other for the acquisition of wealth, honor, and political distinctions. But it is in the power of human government to guard, to a certain extent, against greater inequalities, by providing proper means of intellectual improvement for all. . . . The children of men of wealth will always be supplied with books from their own resources, but the children of those who are unable to purchase libraries must, at the termination of their common school course, be deprived in a great degree, of the means of improvement unless public libraries are established and placed within their reach. Common school libraries are therefore particularly calculated to benefit persons of limited means, and they should comprise works on all subjects of practical usefulness, as well as books designed to excite a taste for reading. . . . However great may be the advantage to result to individuals from an extensive diffusion of books, these considerations are of far less importance than the public benefit which it promises. An intellec-

tual and reading community is far more secure against the prevalence of vice and a taste for the grosser gratifications, than an unenlightened people.

In 1839 Governor Seward said, in his annual message to the legislature:

Provision has been made for the establishment of common school libraries. If I do not greatly err, this cheap and easy mode of bringing into contact with the juvenile powers the discoveries of science and the mysteries of the arts, will be the era of a new impulse to the cause of education. The common schools may resist every other influence but they cannot withstand that of the general improvement of the community. I cannot too earnestly solicit your coöperation in the beginning in this wise and momentous policy.

In 1840 Seward said: "You will learn with great satisfaction that the law providing for the establishment of libraries in the school districts has been carried into successful operation in most parts of the state."

In 1841 he said:

Of these school districts there are very few which have not complied with the act providing for the establishment of school district libraries, and there are at this time in these various district libraries about one million volumes. Within the five years limited by the law there will have been expended in the purchase of books more than half a million dollars. Although an injudicious choice of books is sometimes made, these libraries generally include history and biography, voyages and travels, works on natural history, and the physical sciences, treatises upon agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the arts, and judicious selections from modern literature.

In 1846 Governor Silas Wright reported that there were 1,145,250 volumes in the school district libraries, 106,854 having been added in the past year at a cost of $95,158.25.

In 1848 Governor Hamilton Fish said: "Intimately connected with the success of our institutions of learning is the establishment and support of libraries for the use of the public. The liberal and far-seeing policy of the law of 1838

provided for the formation and gradual increase of libraries in each of the school districts of the state. During the past year $81,624.05 have been expended by the state for this object. Upwards of one million three hundred thousand volumes have already been distributed carrying the means of mental culture into every portion of our widespread territory."

In 1849 the superintendent of common schools, in a report to the legislature, said:

> Every volume in a well selected library is a perpetual teacher to all who will go to it for instruction; that the district libraries cannot be too large, and that the people are in no danger of learning too much. . . . Selections for the district libraries are made from the whole range of literature and science with the exception of controversial books, political or religious, history, biography, poetry, philosophy, mental, moral, and natural, fiction—indeed every department of human knowledge contributes its share. The object of this great charity was not merely to furnish books for children but to establish in all the school districts a miscellaneous library suited to the tastes and character of every age.

In course of time interest in district libraries began to decline. Fewer purchases were made, and the libraries were not as well cared for. In 1882 Governor Cornell, in commenting on this condition, said: "The constant decline of the school district libraries affords striking evidence of the necessity for more liberal provision for their support." In 1860 the number of volumes in the district libraries was 1,288,536. In 1881 there were only 707,155. In 1884, after $50,000 a year or more had been appropriated for district libraries for forty-six years, there were 900,000 fewer books in the district libraries than there were in 1853. This condition is easily explained. The amount that a single district could get from the state was so small that often it was not thought worth while to make use of it. After 1851 the trustees were authorized to use the amount coming to them for the payment of teachers' wages and this was commonly

done. For many years the librarian was elected at the annual meeting. Often the person selected would not accept and the vacancy was not filled before the following year. In course of time no one was elected. The librarian kept the library in his own house and there were no regular hours during which one might come for books. One might go for a book and find neither the librarian nor anyone else at home. Very often children were not welcome, and sometimes no one was. Books were lent without any record of the loan being made. Books were scattered and lost. No one took any interest. This, of course, did not apply to all districts but it did to very many of them.

In 1892 a law was enacted that made a sharp distinction between public libraries and school libraries. The former were placed under the supervision of the Board of Regents, the latter under the control of the superintendent of public instruction. The act of 1892 provided that the library money of the state should be divided giving each city and each county its proper share but that no city or school district should draw any public money unless it raised an equal amount, both funds being expended for books approved by the department. This plan did not work very well and much of the money was not called for by the districts. One reason was that no small district could secure a very large sum in any one year. Later the plan was modified so that a common school district could draw from the state for library books, maps or globes $18 each year plus $2 for each teacher employed, provided the district raised an equal amount and both were expended for approved purchases. If a district wished to raise a smaller sum it might do so, and have the amount it raised duplicated. Academic schools were allowed to expend $268 plus $2 for each teacher employed. This sum was duplicated by the state for approved purchases but it might be expended for approved apparatus or pictures as well as for library books, globes and maps. This plan is still followed and the libraries have taken on new life.

Of the 10,544 school districts in the state there are only

43 maintaining schools that are without libraries. The average number of books in common district libraries is not far from 175. The academic schools have a much larger number, sometimes running into the thousands. The future growth and use of the school libraries are likely to be very marked.

Examinations

New York has made much more of examinations than has any other state in the Union. She has guarded the entrance to professions as no other state has attempted to do. There is widespread criticism of New York's system of examinations, largely based upon ignorance as to the facts.

In the early history of our state system of schools the examination of teachers for the purpose of determining their fitness to teach was largely a farce. This is still true of some states. When this duty is performed by local officers, there will be as many standards as there are examiners. In addition to this, there is always danger of favoritism.

It was not until the administration of Dr. Draper as superintendent of public instruction that any uniformity in the matter of examining candidates for teaching was brought about. Under his administration a bill passed the legislature providing for uniform examinations throughout the state. This act was vetoed by Governor Hill. Dr. Draper then appealed to the school commissioners of the state to voluntarily adopt a uniform system. Nearly all of them responded favorably, and the few who did not soon thought better of it.

In the early days the state superintendent of public instruction issued state certificates on the recommendation of a school commissioner or other person in whose judgment he had confidence, but this system also was abandoned and such certificates are now issued only as the result of written examinations, passed upon by a board of examiners. The state plan of certifying teachers is rather complicated, perhaps too much so, but no one is certified except as the result of passing

some examination. Not only that but every person has an equal opportunity with all others.

Early in our history what was known as the literature fund was distributed among the secondary schools of the state on the basis of attendance of academic pupils. Each principal of a school determined who were the academic pupils in his school. Here again there were as many different standards as there were secondary schools. The evils growing out of the conditions were so apparent that the Regents issued question papers in arithmetic, grammar, geography and spelling, and the students who passed these subjects were counted as academic students. But the principals determined who had passed and here again were different standards. The examinations were not held at the same time in all the schools and there was no certainty that pupils might not sometimes see the question papers before having to take the examinations. Then, in many cases, the money received from the literature fund, which was a considerable amount, often went to the principal, as most of the secondary schools of that time were private schools, and the temptation to be lenient in marking was greater than some were able to resist.

These facts became so apparent that the Regents provided that the examinations in a given subject should be held in all schools at the same hour, and that the question papers should not be opened till the hour of the examination. All answer papers were to be sent to Albany for examination.

The Regents' examinations have been so carefully worked out and chance for error or dishonesty so guarded against that many colleges both within and without the state accept the pass-cards earned in these examinations in lieu of an entrance examination conducted at the college. Not only this, but laws have been enacted providing that students must have earned pass-cards in given subjects before they can be admitted to professional schools. No other state has even attempted to guard the entrance to the professions as carefully as has New York.

Higher Education

After the close of the Revolution New York bestirred herself in regard to education as has already been shown. Colleges and academies were chartered as early as 1784. Union free schools, really high schools, were established as early as 1853. Nearly two hundred academies were chartered and did most excellent work. Most of these have been discontinued and public high schools have taken their place. Children living in a district in which there is no high school have their tuition paid by the state to enable them to attend the nearest high school, when they are prepared to take up high school work.

There was never a state university in New York or a serious thought of one, but in its own way the state settled the question of higher education. When Cornell University was founded, it was provided that there should be a given number of free scholarships, these being awarded as the result of a competitive examination. This opened the way to only a small number. Recently the state has provided for three thousand state scholarships; each year seven hundred and fifty are to be awarded, five for each assembly district. These are not determined by a competitive examination at the close of their high school course, but are awarded to the five students who have had the highest average standing during the whole four years of their high school course. The students who earn these scholarships may enter any approved college in the state and have their tuition paid by the state.

Space will not permit anything like a full history of the public educational system of the state of New York. It should be noted that New York early took up the question of compulsory education and has kept at it persistently, strengthening the law year by year, increasing the attendance and lessening illiteracy. Our state has provided for the blind, deaf, feeble-minded and other unfortunate classes. It has undertaken to aid in the matter of visual instruction through the lending of pictures, lantern slides and in other ways. Much has been

done in the way of aiding weaker districts financially and plans are now being worked out for the benefit of pupils in rural districts, so as to give them as good a chance for an education as can be had anywhere in the state.

With the death of Commissioner Draper there came the end of an epoch in our educational history, the end of a period of great accomplishments, the firm establishment of certain educational principles, and the general acceptance of given educational ideals. It is hoped and believed that the end of one period in our educational history is to be closely followed by the opening of another of even greater accomplishment, and this largely because the administration of Dr. Draper has led to higher ideals of the duty of the public in the education of the young.

A brief sketch of the character of Andrew S. Draper, and what he accomplished for the state he loved so well, should be given at this time. It is fitting that it should become a part of our history and known to all men. Dr. Draper was not a genius possessing great originality, but he was a rare educational administrator. In that he has not been equaled by anyone in our country, possibly not by anyone of any country. He had not that pride of opinion, the weakness of small minds, that prevented him from accepting opinions of others and acting upon them. His mind was always open to suggestions from any source and he was ready to act upon such suggestions as seemed to him to promise success.

Having once decided that a given thing should be done, the matter was settled permanently in his mind and rebuffs and temporary failures did not dishearten him, yet he had, as all great administrators have had, the ability to bide his time and seize the favorable moment for action when it arose. Because of his readiness to accept the suggestions of others and act upon them, we shall never know to what extent the work of his administration originated in his own mind. But we do know that whoever they may have originated with, they became his by adoption before he took action.

His career clearly shows that men succeed or fail in life,

not primarily because of the opportunities they may have had, but because of what they are. Dr. Draper was not what is generally called an educated man—at least his schooling was somewhat meager. Although the successful president of a great university, he was not a college graduate nor had he ever attended any college, if we except his course at the Albany Law School. How then was he fitted for his great work? He knew men. He was a masterful man. He saw clearly and clung to his purposes persistently. He always prepared himself as fully as possible for every occasion that he knew was likely to arise. He had no disastrous pride of opinion. He had not that fear of failure that prevented action. Added to these characteristics was, after all, a thorough training for life, though not altogether that given in schools. He was born in the country. When a mere boy he began to be self-supporting. He graduated from the Albany Academy in 1860. He taught in a private country school and was the principal of a little village school. His experience as a teacher was brief. He had some business experience in a subordinate capacity. He graduated from the Albany Law School in 1871. He was a practising lawyer and later a judge. He was a strong temperance man and, at one time, the state leader of a temperance organization and spoke on temperance many times throughout the state. He was an active politician and came to see a side of human nature that only politicians usually do. He was at the head of his party organization in Albany. He became a member of the legislature. No preparation in all this, one would say, for educational work, yet events proved it the best possible preparation. It made him easily the master of men. It trained him to understand the public. It led him to appreciate the value of organization without which no great work can be done. It made him an untiring worker. It led him to be quick to see danger signals and to prepare for the coming of adverse criticisms.

When elected superintendent of public instruction his election was denounced by school men almost universally but,

politician that he was and as he always remained, from the outset partisan politics did not enter into the administration of the great department over which he presided. After two terms in office he was succeeded by a Democrat. He served for two years as superintendent of schools in Cleveland with marked success—then ten years more in Illinois as president of the University of Illinois. Here again he made a most enviable record. Called back to his native state at the time of unification, he spent the remainder of his life in the service of his native state. During this period, and during earlier years, Dr. Draper spoke in many states on widely differing phases of education. He also wrote many magazine articles.

Briefly, the work accomplished by Commissioner Draper in the state of New York was as follows: The schools were removed from the influence of partisan politics; uniform examinations for teachers were established; great advances were made in the professional training of teachers; that the schools are state and not local institutions came to be recognized; secondary education was greatly strengthened; he harmonized the contending factional education interests of the state; he provided for free state college scholarships; he secured the erection of a magnificent educational building in which were housed the state library, the state museum and all the other educational agencies of the state.

Let us honor the man who has put his state far in advance of all her sister states in the matter of training her sons and daughters to be good and efficient citizens. No greater work can be done.

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INDEX

Abenakis, 5, 13
Abercrombie, Gen. James, 51, 83, 84, 92, 94-99
Acadia, 62, 79
Acadians, 70, 79
Adams, John, 2, 84
Adirondack Mountains, 21
Adirondacks, 5, 7, 12, 13, 336
Aix-la-Chapelle, 76
Alaska, 314, 315, 322, 323-326
Akin, 41
Albany, 22, 29, 33, 35, 41, 44, 47, 60, 63, 65, 69-74, 78-80, 86, 87, 105, 134, 136, 137, 145, 157, 158, 164, 174, 175, 188, 190-193, 207, 234, 241, 242, 251, 252, 258, 260, 266, 270, 271, 281, 315, 322-327, 329, 340
  names of, 192
Albany County, 49, 111
Albany Evening Journal, 317
Albany Gazette, 191
Albany Normal School, 363
Albany plan of union, 205, 206
Alden, Col. Ichabod, 225, 226
Alexander, D. A., 312
Alexander, James, 171, 178-181
Alexander, Sir William, 62
Alexandria, 77
Algonquins, 1-7, 17, 18, 20-23, 28, 36, 60, 103, 121, 122, 124, 190
Allegheny River, 12, 55, 76, 190, 275, 355
Allerton, Isaac, 118
Amherst, Gen. Jeffery, 94, 99-100
Amsterdam, 103, 110, 113, 131
Anabaptists, 129
Andastes, 3, 16, 17, 24-25
Andros, Gov. Edmund, 145, 148, 152, 153, 155
Andrustown, 220, 222
Anne, Queen, 169
Anti-Masons, 317
Anti-rent War, 145
Arnold, Benedict, 244, 258-260, 267-270
Articles of Confederation, 287, 289, 293, 294
Assembly, 74, 75, 167, 168
  weakness of, 289, 290
Assembly of Nineteen, 111

Bancroft, George, 66
Baptists, 109, 130
Barclay, 95
Battenkill, 247, 269
Battles: Bemis Heights, 270
  Bennington, 217, 265, 268
  Freeman's Farm, 268-270
  Harlem, 217
  Johnstown, 216, 217, 237, 239
  Lake Champlain, 217
  Long Island, 217, 286
  Newtown, 217
  Oriskany, 216, 217, 268
  Princeton, 286
  Saratoga, 216, 217
  Trenton, 286
  White Plains, 217
Baum, Col., 263-266
Bayard, Nicholas, 155, 156, 159, 164, 166-167.
Beau Sejour, 79

Beaugeau, Capt., 77
Beauharnois, Gov., 72
Beekman, Col. Henry, 164
Beeren Island, 139
Behring Sea, 325
Belletre, 93
Bellinger, Col. Peter, 254
Bellomont, Earl of, 68, 163-165, 168, 195, 196
Bemis Heights, 268-269
Bennington, 262-266
Bergen, 340
Beverswyck, 144, 190
Bienville, Sieur de Le Moyne, 76
Bigot, 93
Binghamton, 278
Blackfeet, 5
Block Adriaen, 106
Bloody Morning Scout, 82
Bloody Pond, 81, 82
Board of Regents, 146, 342, 343, 350, 352-355, 357, 370
Bogardus, Everardus, Rev., 113-115, 119, 120, 122, 128
Boone, Daniel, 304
Boquet River, 243, 262
Boston, 70, 75
Bourgainville, 93
Bowling Green, 119, 155
Boyd, Lieut., 278, 279
Braddock, Gen. Edward, 47, 51, 77, 78, 83, 85
Bradford, Gov. William, 132, 175, 179
Bradley, A. G., 89, 95
Bradstreet, Col., 72, 98, 99
Brant, Joseph, 42, 43, 222-224, 227, 228, 230, 232, 233, 253, 255, 278, 279
Brant, Molly, 42, 43
Breyman, Col., 264-266
British, 241-242, 246
Brodhead, Col. Daniel, 275
Brooklyn, 340
Brouer, Capt. Jan, 137
Brown, Col. John, 234, 235
Brulé, Stephen, 24
Brunas, 68
Buchanan, James, 323
Buffalo, 327, 329, 356
Burgoyne, Gen. John, 96, 188, 191, 241-243, 245-253, 259-264, 266, 268-271
Burnet, Gov. William, 71, 174, 175, 196, 197, 222
Burr, Aaron, 312
Bushwick, 340
Butler, Benjamin, 325
Butler, Col. John, 224, 253, 258, 279
Butler, Col. William, 224
Butler, Walter, 224, 227, 228, 232, 237-239, 279
Butternut Creek, 225

Cabot, John, 58
California, 319, 320
Cambridge, 263, 264
Canada, 3, 12, 15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33-37, 49-53, 60, 63, 66, 69, 71, 76, 79, 83, 88, 93, 98, 151, 158, 174, 194, 216, 217, 233, 236, 237, 260, 270, 281, 300
Canadians, 82, 100
Canajoharie, 225, 232, 238, 253, 277
Canal Commission, 330, 331
Canals, 13, 146, 334-335
Canandaigua, 281
Canaseraga Creek, 281
Canseau, 75
Carleton, Sir Guy, 242, 260
Carlyle, 102
Carolinas, 2
Cartier, Jacques, 3, 58
Carver, Joseph, 328
Castle Island, 190

Castleton, 246, 247, 260
Cat Nation, 2
Catawbas, 13, 201, 202
Catherinestown, 281
Catskill, 224
Catskill Indians, 13
Caughnawaga, 69, 193, 234
Caughnawagas, 69
Cayuga and Seneca Canal, 235
Cayugas, 3-6, 13, 31, 150, 227, 280, 282
Chambly, 20
Champlain, Samuel, 1, 19, 21-25, 58, 62, 63, 102
Champlain Valley, 61, 72, 99
Charlotte River, 225, 230, 233
Charter of Liberties, 149, 150
Chase, Salmon P., 319
Chemung Canal, 235
Chenandoanes, 281
Chenango Canal, 235
Cherokees, 2, 6, 13
Cherry Valley, 217, 220, 225, 226
Cherry Valley Lake, 225
Cherry Valley Road, 225
Chesapeake Bay, 104, 271
Cheyennes, 5
Chief Abraham, 42, 204
Chiefs, 8, 10
Christiansen, Hendrick, 106
Church of England, 161, 162
Clans, 7, 9
Clarke, Gov. George, 198
Classis of Amsterdam, 339
Claus, Col. Daniel, 42, 253, 258
Clinton, Gen. James, 224, 228, 275-278
Clinton, Gov. DeWitt, 219, 330-332, 341, 359, 360, 364
Clinton, Gov. George, 234, 295, 328, 329
  as colonial governor, 49, 75, 198, 200-202
Clinton, Gov. George, messages of, in favor of public education, 343-345, 352
Clinton, Sir Henry, 270, 271
Clyde, Col. Samuel, 235
Cobleskill, 220
Colden, Cadwallader, 175, 178, 179, 200, 201, 328
Cole, Col., 81
Coles, Christopher, 328, 329
Columbia County, 111, 136
Commissioner of Education, 355
Compulsory education, 352
Concord, 261
Conestogas, 3
Confederacy, the, 32
Congress, 287, 289, 304
Connecticut, 71, 155, 158
Connecticut River, 106, 133
Connecticut Valley, 74
Convocation of the University, 354
Coorn, Nicholas, 139-141
Corlear, 44
Corlear's Hook, 122, 123
Cornbury, Lord, 166-168, 341
Cornell, Gov. Alonzo B., 367
Cornell University, 371
Cornplanter, 10, 233
Cosby, Gov. William, 175-181
Council, Fort Stanwix, 54, 55
  Great Niagara, 54
  at Johnson Hall, 48, 54, 55
Councils, Indian, 9-11, 47, 48, 51-53
Counties founded under Dongan, 150
Courcelle, 28-30, 32, 63
Courts founded by Dongan, 150
Cox, Col. Ebenezer, 253, 254
Crees, 5
Crooked Lake Canal, 335
Crown Point, 69, 72-74, 76, 79, 82, 85, 86, 90, 92, 94, 99, 100, 204, 216, 244, 261
Cuba, 323

Cumberland Head, 243
Cunahunta, 225
Currietown, 236
Cuylersville, 281

Dacotah, 2
Decanesora, 195
Deerfield, 73
DeFormoy, Gen., 246
De la Barre, 150
DeLancey, Gov. James, 177-180, 204, 341
DeLancey, Stephen, 40
Delaware and Hudson Canal, 334
Delaware Bay, 104, 133
Delaware County, 229
Delaware River, 12, 55, 116, 131, 136, 189, 230, 239
Delawares, 5, 13, 15, 83
Dellius, Dominie, 72, 164, 169
Denman, Supt. Jacob S., 358
Denonville, Marquis de, 31-36, 72, 150, 151
Deposit, 55
Detroit, 17, 53
Devil's Hole Massacre, 53
DeVries, Capt., 115, 122-124
DeWitt, Simeon, 329, 330
Dieskau Baron, 80-82
Dinwiddie, Gov., 76, 204
District superintendents, 356
Dix, John A., 364-366
Dongan, Gov. Thomas, 33, 145, 147-152, 193
Doxstader, John, 237
Draper, Andrew S., 337, 355, 364, 369, 372-374
Dresden, 335
Duane, James, 295
Duke of Cumberland, 52, 83
Duke of York, 133, 134, 145, 148-150
Dutch, the, 1, 23, 28, 29, 58, 102, 103, 105-107, 114-116, 120-125, 129, 131, 133, 145, 148, 153, 161, 168, 338, 340
Dutch East India Company, 103, 105
Dutch Reformed Church, 109, 129, 152, 164
Dutch West India Company, 107, 109, 111, 113, 116, 118, 126-129, 133, 136-139, 144, 339
Dutchess County, 164

East Canada Creek, 41
East Florida, 305
East River, 116, 119
Easton, 276
Edmeston, 223
Eelkins, Jacob, 115-116
Eight Men, the, 125-127
Eliot, John, 119
Elizabethtown, 276, 285
Elmira, 279, 335
Empire State, 336
England, 76, 77, 83, 95, 133, 148, 153, 168, 297, 300, 341
English, the, 2, 3, 29, 45, 50, 51, 54, 59-62, 71-73, 75, 81-83, 88, 89, 94, 97, 99, 115, 133, 145, 151, 161, 340, 341
English Independents, 129
Erie Canal, 219, 327, 328, 332, 334, 335
  celebration of completion of, 332-333
  first boat through, 332
Eries, the, 2, 6, 13, 16, 17
Esopus, 106
Esopus Creek, 188
Esopus Indians, 5, 13, 106
Evans, John, 165
Eyre, Maj., 91

Fantine Kill, 228
Father Hennepin, 14
Fawcett, Rachel, 283

Federal Convention, 290-297
members of, 292
Federalist, The, 294
Fish, Hamilton, 367
Fish Creek, 74, 269
Fiske, John, 7, 97, 117, 168, 248, 267, 294
Five Nations, 3, 6, 14, 36, 49, 66, 68, 69, 71, 151, 193-196
Flatbush, 340
Flatlands, 340
Fletcher, Gov. Benjamin, 161-166, 194, 195
land grants of, 162
Floridas, the, 305, 306, 309
Flushing, 130
Folsom, Capt., 82
Forbes, Gen., 94, 246
Fort Stanwix Treaty, 54, 55
Forts: Amsterdam, 115, 121, 124, 134
Anne, 60, 69, 246, 249
Carillon, 83
Dayton, 223, 228, 233, 235, 236, 239, 253, 257, 258
Duquesne, 77, 94, 99, 244
Edward, 60, 69, 74, 79, 82, 84, 86-89, 91, 92, 242, 246-252, 260, 266
Frederick, 192
Freeman's Farm, 269, 270
Frontenac, 36, 60, 76, 85, 98, 99
Herkimer, 223
Hunter, 234, 237
Independence, 246
James, 134, 150, 154, 156
Johnson, 51
Lyman, 79
Miller, 251
Niagara, 99
Nicholson, 69, 74
Orange, 27, 28, 110, 115, 116, 119, 123, 124, 132-134, 137-139, 141-143, 145, 158, 190, 191
Forts· Oswego, 71, 72, 85, 98, 99
Pitt, 53, 99
Plain, 228, 232, 234
Rensselaer, 237
Roland, 33
St. Frederick, 72, 73 76
St. Therese, 28
Saratoga, 69
Schlosser, 53
Schuyler, 232, 252, 253, 258, 260, 268
Stanwix, 55, 60, 242, 245, 251-253
Sullivan, 278
William, 155
William Henry, 27, 29, 83, 86, 89-92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 258
Foxes, 5
France, 30, 70, 76, 77, 83, 153, 271, 299-302, 305, 309, 310, 312
Francis, Col., 246
Franklin, Benjamin, 77, 205, 312
Fraser, Gen., 242, 246, 247, 263
Free School Act, 351, 352
Freedoms and exemptions, 339
French, the, 18-20, 23, 25, 28-32, 35-37, 50, 51, 56, 59-62, 66, 70-73, 75, 80-83, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 99, 103, 150, 151, 174, 188
French Creek, 275
Frontenac, Gov., 35-37, 63, 66, 153
Frontenac's expedition against the Mohawks, 66, 67
Frye, Col., 76

Gansevoort, Col., 232, 242, 252-255, 257-260, 268
Garangula, 10
Gardinier, Capt., 256
Garrard, Gov., 305
Gates, Gen. Horatio, 244, 245, 260, 261, 267-271, 274, 313

Gathtsegwarohare, 281
Genesee Canal, 335
Genesee River, 12, 14, 190, 281
Genesee Valley, 224, 230, 275, 279, 280, 327
Geneva, 281
Georgia, 2
Georgian Bay, 315
Germaine, Lord, 241, 242, 266
German Flatts, 53, 93, 220, 222, 254
Germans, 93
Gerritson, Wolfort, 137
Golden Hill, 216
Gomez, Stephen, 105
Good Hope, the, 141
Goshen, 229, 230
Governor's Island, 116, 132
Grant, Mrs., 191
Grassy Brook, 229
Great Britain, 290
Great Central Trail, 210
  branches of, 212
Great Genesee Castle, 281
Great Lakes, 99
Great Southern Trail, 48, 213
Great Warpath, 59
Green Mountains, 21
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 286
Gulf of Mexico, 61, 300
Gulf of St. Lawrence, 61

Hale, Col., 246, 247
Half Moon, the, 22, 103, 104, 251
Half-Way Brook, 69, 91, 92
Halifax, 86
Hamble, William, 226
Hamilton, Alexander, 283-285, 286, 291-298
Hamilton, Andrew, 181-186
Hamilton, James, 283
Hampshire Grants, 266
Hancock, 55
Hanneman, Lieut., 264
Harlem, 340
Harper, Capt. Alexander, 230, 232, 238
Harpersfield, 231
Hart, Albert B., 94
Hathorn, Col., 230
Havana, 281, 333
Haverstraw Indians, 13
Hawley, Gideon, 350, 351, 357
Helmer, John, 223
Hempstead, 129
Henry, Joseph, 191
Henry, Patrick, 167
Herkimer, 41, 93, 236
Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, 242, 253-257, 259, 260, 266
Herkimer County, 237
Higher education, 371
Hill, Col., 246
Hoboken, 132
Hodges, Capt., 91
Hodgson, Robert, 129
Holland, 103, 112, 120, 123-125, 128-131, 133, 134, 138, 139, 149, 153, 339, 352
Holmes, George, 116
Homan, Daniel, 166
Hoosick, 73
Hoosick River, 265
Hoosick Tunnel, 334
Hornell, 275
Housatonic River, 106
Howe, Lord, 94, 97, 241, 242, 262, 271
Hubbardtown, 246, 250
Hudson, Henry, 22, 102-105
Hudson River, 35, 60, 104, 105, 116, 137, 164, 173, 188, 216, 219, 224, 241, 250, 252, 328-330, 332
  names of, 105
Hudson River Valley, 86
Huguenots, 109, 129, 148, 153, 171
Hunter, Robert, 71, 168-172, 174

Huntington, 149
Hurons, 3, 4 6, 13-16, 18, 20-26, 54
Hutchinson, Anne, 118

Illini, the, 5, 13, 17
Indian chiefs, 47, 87
Indian marriages, 9
Indian trails, 209-215
Indian treaties at Albany, 192-204
Indians, 23, 30, 47, 55, 71-75, 78, 81, 82, 87-94, 97, 99, 102, 105-109, 111, 116-119, 122-126, 131, 133, 136, 138, 174, 175, 188, 192, 203, 232, 236, 237, 239, 253, 255, 257, 259, 260, 262, 265, 268, 273, 279, 280, 282, 310
Ingoldsby, Capt., 194
Irondequoit Bay, 14, 31, 175
Iroquois, 1-3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13-21, 23, 25-29, 31-37, 45, 48, 53, 60, 72, 79, 82, 83, 105, 121, 150, 151, 158, 190, 192, 197, 220
Iroquois supremacy, 12
Isle of Noix, 100
Isle of Orleans, 16
Ithaca, 224, 358

Jamaica, 149
Jamestown, 76
Jans, Annetje, 113, 137
Jansen, Roelof, 115, 137
Jay, John, 285, 288, 294, 295, 312, 341, 344
Jefferson, Thomas, 299-305, 308-312
Jemison, Mary, 201
Jerseyfield, 238
Jesuits, 16, 31, 151, 193, 194, 196
Jews, 119, 130
Jogues, Father, 25-28, 119, 191
Johnson, Sir Guy, 42
Johnson, Sir John, 42, 220, 224, 232-235, 256, 258, 259, 266, 279
Johnson, Sir William, 27, 39, 40, 41-49, 51-54, 56, 57, 77, 79-82, 88, 89, 202, 225, 237, 252, 281
Johnson Hall, 43, 238
Johnson's Royal Greens, 255 256
Johnstown, 43, 217, 238
Joncaire, Capt., 46, 54, 68, 71
Jones, Capt., 269

Kalm, Peter, 191
Kanandaigua, 46, 281
Kanedesaga, 281
Keith, Gov., 109, 196
Kent, Chancellor, 58, 248
Kentucky, 303
Kickapoos, 5
Kidd, Capt. William, 163, 165
Kieft, Gov. William, 109, 110, 113-114, 116, 118-127, 129
King Charles, 63, 150
King Hendrick, 44, 48, 73, 80-82, 204
King James, 133, 151-154, 166, 194
King of Spain, 303
King Philip, 1
King William, 163, 166
King's College, 285, 341, 352
Kingston, 106, 271, 340
Kirke, Gervaise, 62, 63
Klock, Col. Jacob, 225, 226, 253
Klock's Field, 235
Knox, Rev. Hugh, 285
Kocherthal, Rev. Joshua, 171, 172
Kodiack Island, 325
Kuyter, Jochem Pietersen, 125-128

Labrador, 105
La Chine, 34, 37
Lackawaxen, 228, 230

Lakes: Canandaigua, 5
Cayuga, 5, 14, 224, 279, 280, 329
Champlain, 12, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 35, 60, 62, 67, 69, 72, 74, 80, 90, 92, 216, 217, 241, 329, 332
Chautauqua, 76
Erie, 12, 71, 76, 328, 330
George, 12, 26-29, 35, 60, 62, 67, 71, 79-82, 84, 86, 89-92, 95, 98, 99, 216, 241, 243, 250, 260
Huron, 24
Oneida, 12, 24, 78, 233, 237, 238, 241, 252, 259
Onondaga, 14
Ontario, 3, 20, 23-25, 37, 48, 60, 72, 76, 85, 98, 175, 198, 241, 252, 259
Otsego, 225, 275, 277
St. Peter, 25
Saratoga, 28
Seneca, 3, 15, 23, 24
Simcoe, 329, 335
Sturgeon, 23
Superior, 17, 23, 24
Lamberville, 68
La Montagne, 122
Lansing, Abraham G., 295
La Prairie, 66
La Salle, 58
League of the Iroquois, 4, 5, 7-9, 11, 219, 282
Leboeuf, 53
Leclerc, 302, 303
Lee, Gen. Charles, 95, 267, 313
Leisler, Jacob, 64, 152-160, 162, 164, 165
Lenni Lenapes, 5, 14
Lewis, Gov. Morgan, 345
Lewiston, 53
Lexington, 261
Lincoln, Abraham, 322
Lincoln, Gen., 262, 265, 266, 268-270
Lindesay, John, 225
Literature lotteries, 343
Little Beard's Town, 281
Little Falls, 41, 172, 232, 329
Livingston, Philip, 178, 341
Livingston, Robert, 163, 170-173, 174, 295, 299, 300, 303, 305, 306, 308-313, 341
Livingston, William, 285
Livingston Manor, 145
Logan, 10
Long, Col., 246
Long Island, 106, 110, 165
Longuit, 68
Loockermans, Govert, 141
Loudon, Lord, 51, 83-86, 94, 98
Louisburg, 70, 71, 75, 86, 94
Louisiana, 299, 301, 302, 304, 308, 310-313, 324
Loups, 5, 14
Louverture, 303
Lovelace, Gov. Francis, 147, 148
Lutherans, 109, 119
Lydius, John H., 74
Lyman, Col. Phineas, 79, 82

Mackinaw, 53
Madison, James, 294, 297, 305, 306, 308-310, 312
Manchester, 247, 260, 265, 266
Manhattan Island, 105-108, 110, 113, 115, 122-124
Mails, early, 148
Maquas, 14
Marbois, 308-310
Marcy, Gov. William, 317, 360-362, 365
Maricourt, 68
Marin, 74, 90, 92
Maryland, 83, 109, 158
Massachusetts, 70, 72, 79, 114, 124, 155, 158, 241, 252, 261, 338

Massasoit, 1
Maumee, 53
Maxwell, Gen. William, 276
M'Donald, Donald, 236, 279
M'Kean, Capt., 235, 236
McCrea, Jane, 260-262
McGinnis, Capt., 82
Meeker, Maj., 229
Megapolensis, Rev. Johannes, 119, 138
Meilowacks, 13
Melyn, Cornelius, 125-129
Menominies, 5
Mexico, 323
Mey, Cornelius Jacobsen, 106, 108
Miamis, 5, 13, 17, 33
Michaelius, Rev. Jonas, 110
Michilimackinac, 17
Middleburgh, 233
Milbourne, Jacob, 157-160, 164, 165
Milet, 194
Mingoes, 14
Minisink, 227-229, 278, 279
Minisinks, 5
Minsi, 13
Minuit, Gov. Peter, 108-110, 112, 129, 131
Mississippi River, 71, 304, 306, 308, 311
Mississippi Valley, 2, 99, 299, 300, 301, 310
Mohawk River, 12, 60, 93, 188, 190, 241
Mohawk Valley, 62, 165, 216, 219, 223, 232, 234, 237, 239, 242, 251, 252, 259, 275, 277, 328
Mohawks, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 21-23, 25, 27-31, 37, 41, 51, 62, 66, 80, 83, 102, 103, 122, 123, 151, 233
Mohegans, 5, 13, 15
Mohicander Indians, 13
Mohicans, 5
Monckton, Col., 77, 79
Monongahela, 76
Monro, Col., 86-89
Monroe, James, 305, 306, 308-310, 312
Montagnais, 5
Montcalm, Marquis, 72, 83-90, 92, 94, 96-98, 243
Montezuma, 235
Montgomery, James, 175, 176
Montgomery County Historical Association, 41
Montour, Capt., 45
Montreal, 3, 19, 28, 32, 34, 52, 60, 69, 70, 85, 93, 99, 100, 175, 217, 253
Morales, 303, 306
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 224, 244, 267, 268, 270
Morris, Gouverneur, 186, 295, 305, 328, 341
Morris, Lewis, 169, 177-179, 181
Moses Creek, 231
Mount Defiance, 96, 243, 244, 250
Mount Independence, 243, 244, 246
Mount Johnson, 48, 51
Murphy, Timothy, 233, 234

Nanticokes, 13
Napoleon, 299-302, 306, 308, 310
Narragansett Bay, 106
Narragansetts, 5
Narrows, the, 91
Netherlands, 168
Neutral Nation, 2, 3, 6, 13, 15, 16
New Amsterdam, 28, 109, 110, 112, 115-118, 124, 126-128, 130, 133, 134, 144, 338, 340
New England, 23, 35, 36, 60, 62, 73, 109, 118, 120, 152, 168, 262, 273
New England Indians, 13, 17, 191, 241
New England Loyalists, 262

New Hampshire, 79, 296
New Jersey, 72, 124, 152, 241
New Netherland, 108, 109, 112, 114, 119, 120, 125, 126, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138, 139, 141, 144, 145, 148, 338-340
New Orleans, 299, 301-303, 305, 306, 308-310
New Utrecht, 340
New York, 23, 24, 26, 34, 35, 60, 62, 70-74, 79, 82, 147, 150, 152-154, 158, 159, 174, 216, 219, 241, 261, 265, 328, 329, 333, 336, 338, 342, 343, 359
New York Bay, 104, 105, 216
New York City, 35, 41, 71, 109, 137, 168, 242, 334
New York Convention, 294, 301
New York Gazette, 175, 178
New York Weekly Journal, 179, 180
Newburgh, 172
Newtown, 279
Niagara, 3, 32, 33, 46, 53, 54, 60, 71, 78, 85, 89, 197, 198, 232, 275, 280, 281, 336
Niagara River, 76
Nicholson, Col. Francis, 40, 69, 152-157, 159
Nicolls, Col. Richard, 133, 134, 145, 147, 148, 159, 160
Nicolls, William, 169
Normal schools, 354, 359, 362-364
North River, 139
Northern Trail, 214
Nottaways, 2, 6
Nutten Island, 116
Nyack Indians, 13

Oghwaga, 48, 49, 220, 224, 225, 228
Ohio Indians, 83
Ohio River, 12, 76
Ohio Valley, 61, 62, 76, 99, 335
Ojibways, 5, 16
Olean, 335
Oneidas, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 29, 31, 98, 217, 223, 235, 238, 254
Onondaga Castle, 52
Onondagas, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 23-25, 31, 37, 275, 277, 278
Orange County, 165, 276, 279
Oriskany, 216, 255-257, 259, 260, 266
Oswego, 37, 47, 51, 53, 60, 71, 72, 78, 79, 84-86, 93, 98, 99, 197, 198, 205, 233, 237, 241, 252, 262, 329
Oswego Canal, 334
Oswego River, 12, 78, 241, 252, 329
Otis, James, 167, 285
Ottawas, 5, 13
Owego, 55

Palatine, 253
Palatines, 171-174, 220, 253
Paris, Col., 254
Parkman, Francis, 26, 49, 59, 90, 96
Patroons, 111, 137, 339
Pavonia, 122, 132, 136
Pearl Street, 114
Peck, Jedediah, 343, 346, 349, 350, 355
Peekskill, 242, 276
Penn, William, 1, 149
Penn Yan, 335
Pennacooks, 5
Pennsylvania, 3, 6, 83, 109, 241, 273, 276
Penobscot Bay, 103
Pepperrell, William, 75, 76
Pequots, 5, 13
Peters, member of Congress, 325
Philadelphia, 292
Philipse, Frederick, 148, 155, 158, 159, 177, 178

Phillips, Lieut., 91
Phips, Sir William, 70, 158
Phratries, 9
Pilgrims, 1, 124
Pinckney, Charles, 305
Pitt, William, 94
Pittsburgh, 57, 76, 99, 275
Pittsford, 247
Planck, Jacob Albertsen, 137
Plowman, Matthew, 154
Plymouth, 118, 158
Pocahontas, 1
Point Iroquois, 17
Pomeroy, Seth, 79, 90
Pontiac, 1, 53
Poor, General Enoch, 276
Port Royal, 70
Porter, Peter R., 331
Pottawattamies, 5
Poughkeepsie Convention, 269
Powhatans, 5
Praying Indians, 69
Presque Isle, 53
Prideaux, 99
Prince of Orange, 141
Princeton, 285
Public School System, 337
Puritans, 1, 105
Putnam, Israel, 79, 90, 93, 95, 97, 242

Quakers, 129, 130, 170, 276
Quebec, 3, 20, 25, 28, 29, 31, 62, 63, 69-72, 100, 158, 174, 217
Queen Anne, 170-172
Queen Esther, 281
Queen's Farm, 170
Queens County, 118
Queenstown Heights, 146

Rangers, 90, 91, 93, 97
Red Jacket, 10
Regents of the University, 146, 342, 343, 350, 352-355, 357, 370
Rensselaer County, 73, 111, 136
Rensselaerswyck, 115, 119, 132, 136-138, 141, 142, 144
Report of Jedediah Peck and others on a system of common schools, 346-349
Restless, the, 106
Revolution, the, 55, 85, 166, 216, 217, 224, 257, 267, 273, 280, 333, 342, 371
Rheimensnyder's Bush, 231
Rice, Victor M., 357
Richelieu River, 20
Riedesel, Gen., 242, 247, 262, 263
River Indians, 13, 121, 122, 192
Roberts, Col., 75
Rochester, 335
Rockland County, 165
Roelentsen, Adam, 114, 339
Rogers, Richard, 90
Rogers, Robert, 90-92, 97
Rogers Slide, 92
Rome, 78, 86, 256, 331, 332, 335
Rondout, 188
Rondout Creek, 106
Roquemont, 63
Ross, Maj., 237-239
Ross, Sen. James, 304, 305
Royal Grant, 41, 236
Russia, 323-325
Russian-American Company, 325
Rutland, 247
Ryswick, 76

Sabbath Day Point, 91
Sachems, 7-10
Sacs, 5
Saint-Foy, 100
Sammons, 1
Sammons, Lieut., 237
Samoset, 1
Sandusky, 17, 53
Sandy Hook, 104

Saratoga, 73-75, 194, 200, 216, 244, 251, 260
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 243-245, 247, 260
St. Cloud, 308
St. Croix, 284
St. Domingo, 301-303, 323
St. Ignace, 16
St. Ignatius, 102
St. Johns, 73, 217, 242, 243
St. Johnsville, 235
St. Joseph, 16, 53
St. Lawrence River, 19, 20, 25, 34, 47, 60, 70, 76, 241, 253, 336
St. Lawrence Valley, 3
St. Leger, 241, 242, 251-260, 262, 266, 268
St. Louis, 16, 69
St. Mary's, 53
St. Thomas, 323
Schaghticoke, 73
Schenectady, 28, 37, 41, 63, 64, 73, 78, 132, 158, 277, 329
Schenectady Massacre, 65
Schoharie, 219, 228, 230, 232
Schoharie County, 237
Schoharie Creek, 12, 164, 173, 190, 233
Schoharie Valley, 174, 239
School, the first, 340
School Commissioner, 356
School examinations, 369-370
School hours, 340
School libraries, 364-369
Schoolmaster, the, 339, 340
Schools, supervision of, 355, 356
Schuyler, Abraham, 69
Schuyler, Capt. John, 66
Schuyler, Gen. Philip, 73, 95, 242, 244, 245, 247, 248, 251, 252, 258, 260, 267, 268, 274, 284
Schuyler, Hon Yost, 259
Schuyler, Maj. Peter, 37, 66, 67, 71, 74, 75, 165
Schuyler, Peter, Jr., 175
Schuylerville, 69, 217, 270
Scotch-Irish, 41, 220
Scotch Presbyterians, 129
Sedgwick, Maj., 70
Seneca Castle, 281
Seneca Chief, 332
Seneca River, 3, 332
Senecas, 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 17, 31-33, 46, 53, 54, 71, 151, 197-199, 227, 257, 275, 280-282
Seward, William H., 314-322, 326, 362, 365, 366
Sharon Center, 228
Sharon Springs, 237
Shaw, Albert, 191
Shawnees, 5, 13, 83
Shell, John Christian, 236
Shell's Bush, 236
Sheoquaga, 281
Shirley, Governor, 47, 50, 51, 77 79, 83, 84, 200
Sioux, 2
Sitka, 325
Six Nations, 6, 51-54, 72, 77, 197-199, 201-203, 205, 216, 224, 254, 259, 273, 280
Skene, Maj. Philip, 250, 263
Skenesborough, 246-250, 260
Sloughter, Gov. Henry, 158-161
Smith, Col. William, 165
Smith, John, 1, 103
Smith, Melancthon, 295, 297
Smith, William, 175, 177-181
Smits, Claes, 121, 125
Sons of Liberty, 216, 285
South Bay, 74, 80, 82, 92, 246, 250
Spain, 58, 102, 105, 108, 118, 302, 305, 308, 312
Spottswood, Gov., 196
Springfield, 220, 222
Squanto, 1
Stadt Huys, 119
Stanwix, Gen., 252

Stark, John, 79, 90, 95, 97, 264-266
State scholarships, 371, 374
Staten Island, 121, 132, 133, 154
Staten Island Indians, 13
States-General, 107, 108, 111, 118, 128, 129, 136, 144, 145, 339
Stevens, Thaddeus, 317
Stillwater, 73, 251, 266, 268
Stockwell, Maj., 258
Stone Arabia, 228, 235, 238
Stony Point, 23, 217
Street, Alfred, 18
Stricklands Plain, 124
Stuyvesant, Gerardus, 178
Stuyvesant, Peter, 58, 106, 108, 110, 126-134, 136, 137, 139-144
Subercase, 34
Sugar Loaf Mountain, 245
Sullivan, Gen. John, 224, 228, 274-280
  destruction by, 279, 282
  expedition of, 227, 273, 327
Superintendent of common schools, 350, 351, 357, 360, 369
Supervision of rural schools, 337
Susquehanna River, 2, 5, 55, 150, 189, 224, 225, 228, 233, 237, 239, 275-278, 318
Susquehanna Valley, 3, 49, 224, 233
Susquehannocks, 3, 6, 13
Swedes, 58, 131
Symonds, Col., 265

Talleyrand, 301, 306, 308, 309
Talmadge, Lieut., 65
Tappan Indians, 13
Teachers' institutes, 357-359
Teachers' licenses, 341, 369, 370, 371
Tecumseh, 1
Tennessee, 2, 303
"The Fields," 285
Three Rivers, 33
Three Saints, 325
Ticonderoga, 13, 19, 21, 23, 25, 30, 62, 63, 80, 83-86, 90-92, 94, 95, 97-100, 102, 216, 217, 243-245, 247, 250, 260, 262
Tierondequoit, 198
Tiger, the, 106
Tioga Point, 224, 233, 275-278
Tobacco Nation, 2, 3, 6, 13, 16
Tompkins, Gov. Daniel, 331, 341
Toronto, 72
Towanda Creek, 55
Townsend, Henry, 130
Tracy, 29, 30, 32
Training classes, 363, 364
Trent, Capt., 76
Trent River, 23
Trinity Church, 115, 137, 161, 165, 170, 176
Trout Brook, 91, 97
Trumbull, Col., 245
Tryon County, 239, 258
Tuscaroras, 2, 6, 196
Tusten, Col., 229
"Twelve Select Men," 122, 125

Ulster, 228
Ulster County, 165, 237
Unadilla, 55, 223-225, 228, 233
Unadilla Forks, 55
Unadilla River, 55, 225, 233, 235
Underhill, John, 118, 124
Unification, 354, 357, 374
Union, 278
Union College, 344
Union free schools, 354, 371
United New Netherland Company, 115
United People, 14
Unity, the, 137

Utica, 14, 254, 329, 332, 333
Utrecht, 76

Vaillant, 68
Valires, Martin D., 15
Van Brugge, Carl, 142
Van Corlear, Arendt, 132, 138
Van Courtlandt, Col. Philip, 228
Van Courtlandt, Stephen, 148, 155, 158, 159
Van Curler (*See* Van Corlear)
Van Dam, Rip, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181
Van Rensselaer, Gen. Robert, 234, 235
Van Rensselaer, Jan Baptiste, 137, 142
Van Rensselaer, Kiliaen, 111, 113, 119, 136, 137-139, 142-145
Van Rensselaer, Stephen, 145, 146, 329
Van Rensselaer Manor, 141, 143-145, 190
Van Schaick, Col., 228, 277
Van Schaick's Mills, 264
Van Slichtenhorst, 142-144
Van Tienhoven, 122
Van Twiller, Wouter, 113-115
Van Veere, Maryn Andriaensen, 138
Vandreuil, 34
Varick, Col., 245
Venango, 53
Verhulst, William, 108
Vermont, 164, 246, 261, 263, 275
Verrazano, 105
Vesey, Rev. William, 165, 170, 171
Vetch, Samuel, 69
Vimont, Father, 28
Virginia, 2, 83, 118, 273, 296
Visscher, Col. Frederick, 254, 255

Waldenses, 129
Walker, Admiral, 70
Wall Street, 124
Wallabout Bay, 110
Wallkill River, 106, 188
Walloomsac River, 265
Walloons, 109, 110, 191
Wampanoago, 5
Warner, Col. Seth, 246, 247, 260, 265
Warren, Sir Peter, 39, 75, 76
Warren's Bush, 237
Warwarsing, 228
Washburne, Member of Congress, 324, 325
Washington, Gen., 76, 251, 266-268, 271, 273, 274, 284, 286-288, 290-293, 298, 328
Washington County, 164
Webb, Gen., 51, 83-87, 89, 90, 98
Webster, Daniel, 247
Weed, Thurlow, 316, 317
Weisenberg, Catherine, 42
Wells, Robert, 226
West Canada Creek, 41, 222, 238
West Florida, 302, 305, 310
West Point, 241, 271
West Virginia, 76
Westchester County, 118
Weston, William, 329
Wheelock, Dr., 46
Whitehall, 66
Whitestown, 254, 333
Willett, Col., 237, 238, 253, 257, 278
Willetts, Thomas, 118
William and Mary, 152-156
Williams, Ephraim, 79-81
Wilmot, Col., 53
Winslow, 51
Winthrop, Fitz John, 65, 66, 158
Wolfe, Gen., 85, 94, 99, 100
Wood Creek, 12, 60, 69, 78, 86, 249, 252

INDEX

Woodstock, 229
Woodworth, Capt. Solomon, 235-236
Woolsey, Maj., 233, 234
Wright, Gov. Silas, 336
Wyandots, 17
Wyoming, 275, 276

Yates, John Van Ness, 275, 350

Zenger, John Peter, 179-184, 186

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